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THE SOURCES OF THE IDYLS OF JEAN VAUQUELIN DE LA FRESNAYE

One English commentator has ventured to suggest that it was Jean Vauquelin de la Fresnaye (1535[?36]-1607) who made Phyllis a fashionable name among our English pastoral poets.¹ But there can be little hesitation in dismissing this speculation as baseless. Had Vauquelin been read to this extent, some other more substantial traces of his influence would surely exist; yet a wide reading of our pastoral poetry enables me to say that there is not the smallest trace of the influence of this French poet to be found there, if we except the case of Drummond of Hawthornden, who, as will be seen, appears to have been acquainted with Vauquelin's method of "composition," and to have followed him to some extent in this direction. But of influence in the usual sense of the word, no trace is to be found.

In a recently published French anthology² I find Vauquelin described as the French poet of the sixteenth century "who has best felt the charms of Nature, or, to speak more exactly, who has best translated the life at once rustic and poetic of a gentleman." This

¹ Mr. Sidney Lee, in his introduction to *Elizabethan Sonnets*, Constable, 1904, p. lxxvii. This suggestion does not appear in Mr. Lee's later work, *The French Renaissance in England*. If we are to look for a modern source for this name of Phyllis, we ought rather to refer to Italy, where the name occurs frequently in pastoral poetry; Tasso, Sannazaro, and Varchi have it. But of course the name is to be found in classic pastoralists such as Theocritus and Virgil. Mr. Lee assigns the *Idyls* to the year 1560. In this he is quite wrong. Lodge's *Phillis Honoured with Pastorall Sonnets*, London, 1593, must be granted priority.

² Fonsny and Van Dooren, *Anthologie des poètes lyriques français*, Verviers, Hermann (preface dated 1903).

feeling for Nature, as I am about to reveal, does not truly belong to Vauquelin, but is borrowed. However this may be, I think that the rustic muse of Vauquelin, had it been at all widely known in England, must have left some effect upon our pastoral poets.¹

It is through his *Idyls* that Vauquelin can best lay claim to the title of a poet. These idyls are divided into two parts. The first is devoted to the love story of Philis and Philanon. An agreeable writer, the Baron Pichon, conceived the idea that in this collection of pastorals the poet is relating his own love story. Vauquelin, writes this biographer,² knew from childhood the young Anne de Bourgueville, daughter of the sieur de Bras, lieutenant-general of the bailiwick of Caen, author of the *Recherches et Antiquités de Neustrie*. One of the seigneuries of M. de Bourgueville was situated on the banks of the Orne, and the two families met frequently.

If one must take literally what Vauquelin says in his love poems on Philis (a name under which he has sung mademoiselle de Bourgueville), he fell deeply in love with her, probably on his return from Poitiers [where he had been studying the law]; but he dared not tell her so. Philis, remarking his pallor, his sadness, pressed him to make the cause of it known to her. Philanon (that is the name which Vauquelin gives himself in his *Amours de Philis*) avowed to her that he was in love. She strove in vain to make him tell her the name of the one whom he loved, but ended by obtaining that he should show her her portrait. One day when they were together in the valley of the Orne, Philis pressed Philanon to keep his promise. They were seated by the edge of a spring. Look into this limpid water, said Philanon to her,

¹ Dealing with the poet's connection with England, it is of interest to note that the following passage occurs in his satire "A son livre":

Si l'on s'enquiert à toy, Quel homme je puis estre,
Et dont je fus extrait, et quand je vins à naistre:
Di, Que peut estre vint mon nom du Val-d'Eclin,
Qu'au langage du temps on nommoit Vauo-Elin.
Dont Vauquelin se fist, en la belle contree
Que Cerès et Pomone entre toutes recreee.
Des ce temps mes Majeurs desja nobles vivoient:
Et nos Ducs genereux en leurs guerres suivoient:
Mais Vauquelin du Pont, Vauquelin de Ferieres,
Capitaines portolent gouffanons et banieres,
En passant l'Océan, quand leur grand duc Normant
Alla contre l'Anglois tous ses sujets armant:
Et planterent leur nom en Glocestre et Clarence,
Dont il reste aux vieux lieux mainte vaine aparence:
Là sont peints et bossez nos Ecus et Blasons,
Tels que nous les portons encor en nos maisons.

According to Baron Pichon, Vauquelin's claim of having had ancestors in the army of William the Conqueror is baseless. See Moréri, *Dictionnaire*, 1759 ed., under "Vauquelin."

² Article on the poet in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1845, p. 512, and 1846, p. 721.

you will see there the features of her whom I love. The naïve Philis leans over, looks; but,

O grand' pitié! Philis nicete
S'estant veue en l'onde clairette,

departs quite annoyed or feigning to be so, and afterwards constantly avoided Philanon. In desperation, he "led his flocks to feed elsewhere," or in other terms quitted the district and went to study at Bourges. . . . After three or four years' stay at Bourges, he returned to his native place, and obtained a short time after his return the charge of king's advocate for the bailiwick of Caen. . . . He remained all the time in love with mademoiselle de Bourgueville; on her side, she repented keenly of having so much ill-treated him. The two lovers were soon in accord. If we are to believe it, one fine day when

Les Elements estoient pleins de Ris et d'Amour,
they swore an eternal love, then:

. . . . Philanon proche d'elle
Lui donne un doux baiser, ou bien il le receut;
Car si pris ou donné, point on ne l'aperceut,
Il fut pris et receu d'une grace si belle
Qu'une fois il sembloit un baiser de pucelle,
Il sembloit l'autrefois pris de telle façon
Qu'on l'eust dit le baiser d'un amoureux garçon.

Finally, on the 5th July, 1560, he espoused Anne de Bourgueville. This union was happy. Jean Vauquelin remained tenderly attached to his wife, but then he had discovered that the anagram of his name was: Lieu n'ay qu'à une, and that of hers D'un gré louable unie (*Idyls*, I, 76).

This interpretation of the idyls is accepted as true by Travers, the editor of the poet's works;¹ later it is elaborated by Dr. Lemerrier in his biographical study of the poet.² The whole tale is built up on a composite name, "Anne-Philis," used by Vauquelin in his idyls.³ From this identifying title I assume that we are merely to gather that the poet, whose idyls were published when he had been married for some forty years, was anxious to make it plain to his readers—and his wife—that his pastoral beauty, Philis, was only an ideal,

¹ *Les diverses poésies de Jean Vauquelin sieur de la Fresnaye*, publiées et annotées par Julien Travers, Caen, Le Blanc-Hardel, 1869, 2 vols.; and a complementary volume by the same editor, *Œuvres diverses en prose et en vers*, Caen, 1872. These are exquisitely printed volumes. M. Baudement (*Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1870, p. 81) remarks of this edition: "The material execution makes of it one of the most beautiful that the province can oppose to the Parisian press." It is to this edition that I refer throughout.

² A. P. Lemerrier, *Étude littéraire et morale sur les poésies de Jean Vauquelin de la Fresnaye*, Paris, Hachette, 1887. As thesis, Nancy, Sordoillet, 1887.

³ *Idyls*, Book II, No. 66, etc.

a fiction. As will be seen, the whole romance founded on the idyls is undermined when we come to consider Vauquelin's sources.

Before considering these, it is of interest to note the opinions which have been passed upon the idyls by some critics. Speaking generally of his poems, one authority¹ has said that they are to be sought after more for the thought, than for beauty of expression. Pichon, in his essay on the poet, observes that Vauquelin has often, and with foundation, been accused of being too facile and prosaic.² These two writers were unconsciously condemning the poet in the only light left in which we can now view him, namely, as a translator. Tasso, Sannazaro, and Guarini, for instance, three of his leading models, could scarcely be accused of these faults. Travers, writing of the idyls, says that several of them are worthy of living, despite the out-of-date language³—another unwitting hit, of a gentler nature, at Vauquelin. As a whole, Vauquelin's poems fall very far beneath those which he took as models. He boasts that he is not a "scrupulous translator,"⁴ which is true in more senses than one.

Of the poems which I have not touched upon in this paper—the *Art poétique*, the satires, and the sonnets—I am convinced that there is not a single passage, not a single line, containing any idea worth expression, which will not in due course be found to be borrowed. I except the vapid *Foresteries*, which appear to be "original" commonplaces, written mainly under the influence of the poets of the *Pléiade*. It is already known, indeed, that the *Art poétique* is largely taken from Horace, Aristotle, and a number of others; while Pro-

¹ Rigoley de Juigny. *Les bibliothèques françaises de la Croix du Maine et de du Verdier* . . . , Paris, 1772, I, 601.

² *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1846, p. 727.

³ Essay on the life and works of the poet, incorporated in the poet's works, p. lxxxvii.

⁴ The avowal is made in his *Oraison, de ne croire légèrement à la calomnie*, where, speaking of his choice of subject, he says: "Je say bien que plusieurs pourront remarquer qu'entre les œuvres de Lucian, Sophiste Grec, il se trouvera une oraison faite Latine par Melancton quasi de semblable argument, lequel aussi plusieurs auteurs anciens ont traité bien au long: Mais je say d'autre part, que je suis né François, et que prenant le fil de ces auteurs estrangers, pour ourdir la toile de mon sujet, je n'en suis pas moins louable, n'estant esclave ni scrupuleux traducteur, ains libre et franc imitateur: diversifiant mon ouvrage de tant de couleurs, qu'il seroit malaisé à ceux mesmes desquels elles sont empruntées, de les pouvoir reconnoistre, voyant leurs habits si bien appropriés à la Française" (*Œuvres diverses*, ed. Travers, p. 191). He is here, however, only speaking of the task in hand. Although he knew Du Bellay's famous *Dedence* off by heart, he appears to have paid little heed to the injunction, "n'espacier point hors des limites de l'auteur," and might well be regarded as one of those translators blamed by Du Bellay who "with gaiety of heart (as it is said) undertake such things lightly."

fessor Vianey has discovered that most of the satires are taken from a collection entitled *Sette libri di satire, di Lod. Ariosto, Ercole Bentivoglio raccolti per Franc. Sansovino*, Venice, 1560 or 1563. Vauquelin has even appropriated the preface to this volume.¹ Pichon says that Vauquelin knew Spanish. I do not know on what ground this statement rests; the reference to the *Diana* of Montemayor in the *Art poétique* does not, of course, imply that Vauquelin was acquainted with that romance in the vernacular.²

Idyls 1 and 2 are merely prefatory. In Idyl 3 we meet with the two models which have suggested to Vauquelin the outlines of his story of Philis and Philanon. These models are Sannazaro and his imitator Tasso. I give those passages from Vauquelin which have any substance, along with the corresponding Italian.

Philanon amoureux de la grace parfaite,
Des rayons flamboyants des yeux de
Philinete,

Avoit avecques elle et mille et mille
fois

Passé le temps aux champs, passé le
temps aux bois,

Si fort ensemble unis, qu'entre deux
tourterelles

Ni furent onc d'amours si fermes ni
fidelles.

Leur âge estoit conforme et conformes
leurs mœurs,

Conformes leurs pensers, conformes
leurs humeurs.

. . . . che fra due

Tortorelle più fida compagnia

Non sarà mai, nè fue.

Congiunti eran gli alberghi,

Ma più congiunti i cori;

Conforme era l'etate,

Ma 'l pensier più conforme

(Tasso, *Aminia*, Act I, sc. 2).

¹ Vianey, *Mathurin Regnier*, Paris, Hachette, 1896, pp. 67 ff. (citation borrowed from Tilley's *French Renaissance*). Vauquelin confesses in his introductory satire:

Je pren tantost du Grec et tantost du Romain
Ce qui me semble bon: essayant de confire
Avec leur sucre dous, soit Epistre ou Satire:
Et quelquefois je pren des vulgaires voisins,
Pour mettre en mon jardin, des fleurs de leurs jardins.

I suspect that the "Roman" borrowings in these satires include pilferings from the Italian neo-Latinists also.

² Du Bellay, in his *Deffence et Illustration*, had recommended as models "les bons auteurs grecz et romains, voyre bien italiens, hespagnolz et autres." The *Diana* of Montemayor was so popular that six French translations appeared in eighty years (Lenglet-Dufresnoy, *De l'usage des romans*, Paris, 1734, II, 24). The first of these translations, by Nicole Colin, a laborious translator, appeared in 1578; another edition of this version was published in 1587. A translation by S.-G. Pavillon, with Spanish text, was issued by Anthoine du Bruell in 1603. The reference to Lenglet-Dufresnoy I cite at second hand. I may mention here that this paper has been written from Dublin, where resources for the composition of such a paper as this are far from adequate.

Fust que l'Aube au matin, avec ses
doigts de roses,
Les barrières du Ciel au Soleil eust
decloses,
Fust que Vesper au soir eust le jour
enfermé,
Et les flambeaux luisants des astres
allumé,

Ils menoient leurs troupeaux aux
pâtis delectables,
Les ramenoient tousjours ensemble à
leurs etables:

S'ils peschoient du poisson, s'ils
chassoient aux chevreux,
La proye et le plaisir estoient com-
muns entre deux.

Cependant comme une Aulne au bord
de son ruisseau,
Philis tousjours croissoit, belle fleur
admiree,
Des jeunes pastoureux à l'envi desirée:
Qui, fiere et dedaigneuse et le joug
refusant,
Alloit d'un vain espoir les bergers
abusant:

Alors que Philanon ayant veu sur
Menale
Les Faunes emboucher la flutte pas-
torale,

Revint pour enseigner en sa contree
aux siens,
Du flageol à sept voix les accords
anciens.

Mais revoyant Philis, à peine il l'eut
reveue

Qu'Amour d'un feu nouveau son ame a
toute emeue.

Noy alguna volta in su il fare del
giorno, quando appena sparite le stelle,
per lo vicino sole vedevamo l'oriente
tra vermegli nuvolecti rossegiare,
n' andavamo in qualche valle lontana
dal conversare dele genti, et quivi
. . . . tendevamo la ampia rete

(Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, 8th prose
passage, Scherillo's ed.,¹ p. 134).

Seco tendeva insidie con le reti
Ai pesci ed agli augelli, e seguitava
I cervi seco e le veloci damme;
E 'l diletto e la preda era comune
(Tasso, *Aminta*, Act I, sc. 2).

Nacque a Sileno una fanciulla poi,
Che in età crebbe, ed in bellezza,
ed arse

Di mille pastorelli i cori e l'alme

. . . . E se ne giva
Per questi prati, e selve altera, e sola,
Di nullo amante, e da ciascuno amata.

Un giovine pastor, di nome Alcippo,

. . . . come pria vide Amarilli bella

Mirolla intento, e più d'ognun s'accese
Di quella fiamma, onde ciascuno ardea
(Tasso, *Opere*, folio ed. of
Florence, 1724, II, 358, *Convito
di pastori*).

Of Idyl 4 Travers says, "These images of Cupid lighting his torch with the rays from a beautiful countenance were not only an importation from Italy, they are to be found in the *Anthology* and

¹ *Arcadia* di Jacobo Sannazaro, ed. Michele Scherillo, Turin, 1888. Scherillo, in his very exhaustive preface on the sources and imitators of the *Arcadia*, has failed, like Torraca (*Gli imitatori stranieri di J. Sannazaro*), to note Vauquelin as an imitator.

Theocritus (Idyl 14).'' It is, however, probably from Italian sources that Vauquelin borrowed. Travers has failed to note that the conclusion of this idyl is from the conclusion of an epigram by Philodemus in the Greek *Anthology*:

Φεύγωμεν, δυσέρωτες, ἕως βέλος οὐκ ἐπὶ νευρῇ·
μάντις ἐγὼ μεγάλης αὐτίκα πυρκαϊῆς.¹

The original of Idyl 5 is in Tasso (p. 364, No. 9).² As will be seen, these short poems of Tasso have been the favorite resort of the French poet. This idyl possibly inspired Parny with his affecting lines on the death of a young girl:

Son âge échappait à l'enfance
Riante comme l'innocence
Elle avait les traits de l'Amour.
Quelques mois, quelques jours encore
Dans ce cœur pur et sans détour
Le sentiment allait éclore.
Mais le ciel avait au trépas
Condamné ses jeunes appas.
Au ciel elle a rendu sa vie,
Et doucement s'est endormie
Sans murmurer contre ses lois.
Ainsi le sourire s'efface,
Ainsi meurt, sans laisser de trace,
Le chant d'un oiseau dans les bois.

Here are some lines from the version by Vauquelin, along with Tasso's original.

La Pastourelle Philinette,
Toute belle, toute simplette,
Ne savait encor que c'est qu'Amour:
Et si n'a point la connoissance
Des traits poignants, de la puissance,
Dont ses yeux blessent nuit et jour.
Elle porte en son beau visage
Tousjours d'Amour un dous message:
Elle ne voit qu'en son beau ris
Elle surprend les belles ames,

La bella pargoletta
Ch' ancor non sente Amore,
Nè pur noto ha per fama il suo valore,
Co' begli occhi gaetta,
E col soave riso,
Nè s'accorge, che l' arme ha nel bel viso.
Qual colpa ha nel morire
Della trafitta gente,
Se non sa di ferire?
O bellezza omicida, ed innocente!

¹ *Anthologia Palatina*, ed. Dübner, cap. v, No. 124.

² My references to Tasso apply throughout to the second volume of the edition of Florence, 1724.

Et ne sentant d'Amour les flames,
Ceux qu'elle en brule en sont marris.
Vous estes, ô mignarde Infante!
Homicide, mais innocente.

Tempo è, ch' Amor ti mostri
Omai nelle tue piaghe i dolor nostri.

Il est temps que l'Amour vous montre
De quels traits, à toute rencontre,
Il vient par vous nous offenser.

This is typical of Vauquelin's method of translation. He has bestrewn all his idyls with his darling diminutives;¹ but beyond this his originality nearly always consists in destroying the finer points of his models.

In Idyl 7 we have the culminating point of the romance of Philis and Philanon. It has been treated by Pichon, Travers, and Lemerrier, as an incident drawn from the love story of Vauquelin himself: it is strange that no French critic has so far disposed of this theory. Lemerrier, at all events, a student of Sannazaro, might have perceived that the poem is nothing but a rhymed version of the leading incident in the 8th prose passage of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*.² As this idyl is

¹ Édouard Turquety in an article on the poet Olivier de Magny in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* for 1860, pp. 164-8, regrets the diminutives which the French language has unhappily, and forever, lost. "I find a singular example of them," he says, "in one of the volumes of Christophe de Gamon (*Le Jardin de poesies*, 1600). It is a question of a lady's pin:

Espingle au petit béquillon,
Espinglette au ferme aiguillon,
Espinglette reluisante,
Espingletelette attachante.

What think you of the crescendo? Is it not the *chef-d'œuvre* of its kind?" Vauquelin's transgressions in this respect have been dismissed lightly also by another critic (M. Th. Baudement, in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1870, p. 77): "Il ne sut pas échapper davantage à l'abus des diminutifs et des mignardises. . . . Ainsi les nymphes, n'ayant pas sans doute un assez joli nom, s'appellent *nimphettes* et même *ninfelettes*. On n'a dans ce pays-là que des cœurs *mignardelets*, que de *tendrelets* *enfance*. L'onde, plus que *clairette*, devient *argentelette*, par la vertu de la rime; et il ferait beau voir que l'émeraude ne fût pas *verdelette*, ni la rose *vermeille*, ainsi que l'Aurore? Quant à Lycoris, comment lui résister? Elle a, pour nous affriander, une *bouchelette* *sucrine*, et, pour nous attendrir, des *larmelettes*."—I observe that Professor Nyrop, in his fascinating *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, III, 70, mistakenly attributes this passage to M. F. Brunot. Professor Nyrop reproduces (*ibid.*, p. 389) a long defense of diminutives put forward by Mlle Le Jars de Gournay, the "fille d'alliance" of Montaigne. This defense was evidently inspired by an attack delivered by Malherbe. Mlle de Gournay was an ardent admirer of the *Piélade* poets; her attendant, Jamyn, was, it may be recalled, a natural daughter of Amadis Jamyn, the poet-page of Ronsard.

² Vauquelin, of course, is not to be credited with having himself conceived the idea of versifying Sannazaro's prose: this passage was frequently worked up by Italian, French, and Spanish poets of the time. The *Arcadia* was translated into French by Jean Martin in 1544. Vauquelin's idyls were published in 1605.

not unreadable, I give the main passage to show how Vauquelin has accomplished the task of versifying Sannazaro's poetical prose:

Un jour qu'elle estoit seule allee
Avecque luy dans la vallee
D'Orne tortue, ou seuls, à part
Des autres pasteurs à l'ecart,
Ils regardoient une fontaine,
Qui murmuroit la douce peine
De l'amour des jeunes garçons
Dont elle aprenoit les chansons:

Là tous deux ensemble s'assirent,
Et sur les eaux se raffraichirent,
Ecoutant les chants gracieux
De mille oiseaux delicieux:
Quand renouvelant sa priere,
Philis prie en douce maniere
Philanon luy montrer aux bois
Le pourtrait promis tant de fois:
Le beau pourtrait de cette amie,
Qui fait gemir ta chalemie,
O Philanon, montre-le moy,
Je te promets en bonne foy
N'en dire rien, en tesmoignage
J'appelleray de ce bocage
Les Nymphes, qui dedans ce val
Se vont mirant au beau cristal
De cette fontaine argentine,
Dont la reverence divine
Fait que les prophanes troupeaux
N'osent aprocher de ses eaux:¹

Lors Philanon en ces alarmes
Versant un grand fleuve de larmes
Tout pitoyable soupirant,
Mesme à grand' peine respirant,

Luy disoit, d'une voix tremblante,
D'une parolle begayante,
Que vrayment quand il luy plairoit,
Qu'à la Fontaine elle verroit
Le beau pourtrait de sa deesse,

. . . . Advenne una volta che doppo
multo ucellare, essendo yo et ley
soletti et dagli altri pastori rimoti, in
una valle ombrosa, tra il canto di forse
cento varietà di belli ucelli, y quali
di lloro accenti facevano tucto quel
luogo risonare, quelle medesime note
le selve iterando che essi exprimivano,
ne pusimo amboduo ad sedere ala
margine d'un fresco et limpidissimo
fonte che in quella surgea; il quale
nè da ucello nè da fiera turbato, sì bella
la sua chiarezza nel selvatico luogo
conservava, che non altramente che
se de purissimo lacte christallo stato
fusse, y secreti del translucido fondo
manifestava. Et d'intorno ad quella
non si vedea di pastori nè di capra
pedata alcuna, perciò che armenti già
may non vi soleano per riverenza de
le Nympe acostare. Nè ve era quel
giorno ramo nè fronda veruna caduta
da' sovrastanti alberi, ma quietissimo
senza marmorio o rivoluzione di broc-
tezza alcuna, discorrendo per lo herboso
paese, andava sì pianamente che ap-
pena avresti creduto che si muovesse.
Ove poy che alquanto hebbimo re-
frigerato il caldo, ley con nuovi prieghi
mi rencominciò da capo ad stringere et
scongiurare per lo amore che yo gli
portava, che la promessa effigie gli
monstrasse, adiungendo ad questo col
testimonio degli Dij mille giuramenti,
che may ad alguno, se non quanto ad
me piacesse, nol redirebbe. Ala quale
yo da abundantissime lachrime sovra-
giunto, non già con la solita voce ma
tremante et sumnessa, rispui che
nella bella fontana la vedrebe. La

¹ These last six lines remind me of certain stanzas in the *Solitude* of Théophile de Viau (1591-1626). I may point out, however, that the chief—and unmistakable—model of Théophile's picture of a solitude à deux is Ronsard's poem "Quand ce beau printemps je voy" (ed. Blanchemain, I, 220). Théophile seems to have been pilfering also from Tahureau (*Sonnets, odes et mignardises*, ed. Blanchemain, pp. 98 ff.).

Le beau pourtrait de sa Maistresse,
Pourtrait dedans l'eau tout ainsi
Qu'en son cœur il estoit aussi.

Philis entendant ce langage,
Afin de voir ce bel image,
Simple et nice, sans y penser,
Vers l'eau va ses yeux abaisser:
Mais rien ne vit dans cette glace,
Que le beau pourtrait de sa face:
Elle vit son visage beau
Pourtrait dans le miroir de l'eau.

O grand' pitié! Philis nicete,
S'estant veue en l'onde clairette,
Se troubla toute promptement,
Et deux tourments fist d'un tourment!
De sorte que, presque pamee,
Elle tomba dans l'eau blamee!
Après d'un courage irrité
Sans dire mot elle a quitté
Le bon Philanon qui, des l'heure,
Comme un tronc immobil demeure.

quale (si como quella che desiderava molto molto di vederla) semplicemente senza più avanti pensare, abbassando gli occhy nele quiete acque, vide se stessa in quelle dipenta. Per la qual cosa (si yo mal non mi ricordo) ella si smarri subito et scolorisse nel viso per maniera che quasi ad cader tramortita fu vicina; et senza cosa alcuna dire o fare, con turbato viso da me si partì (*Arcadia*, ed. Scherillo, p. 140).

With the succeeding idyl ("Comme on voit le toreau, qui s'afflige et se cache") we may compare a passage in the *Arcadia*, "Ho veduta la innamorata vaccharella," etc., 7th prose passage, p. 123, of the edition of Scherillo. Laumonier cites among the sources of this passage the piece by Flaminio, "Ut quondam nivei correpta cupidine tauri";¹ this piece also probably influenced Vauquelin. The poet, however, in this case seems to have recalled the classical source, indicated by Travers, Virgil, *Georgics*, III, ll. 224-36. The succeeding sonnet ("Philanon seul disoit: Vous, solitaires lieux") is a rendering of a sonnet by Molza, "Schietti arboscelli, e voi, bei loci aprici."² Idyl 10 ("Pasteur, qui lis dessus l'écorce") is a 36-line extension of a sonnet by Varchi ("Pastor, che leggi in questo scorza e in quella"). No. 11 is, on the other hand, a compression of a sonnet by Varchi. I give the parallel:

Poure Philanon que je suis,
Quand mon mal mesme je poursuis!
Pleust aux Dieux qu'avec ma rebelle,
Ma dedaigneuse pastourelle,
Je fusse étroitement lié:
Comme je voy que ce lierre,

Così sempre fuss' io legato e stretto
Con Fillide ver me tanto sdegnosa,
Com' è quest' edra a questa quercia
annosa,
Che l'avvinciglia il piè, le braccia e 'l
petto.

¹ Gruterus, *Delitiae CC. Italorum poetarum*, I, 1016.

² *Poesie*, ed. Classici Italiani, Milan, 1808, p. 155, Sonnet 77.

Ce chesne vieux embrasse et serre.
Depuis le haut jusques au pié.

Desja, par plus de mille fois,
Aux loups j'ay laissé dans les bois
Mon troupelet seulet en proye,
Quand pour elle je me fourvoye.
L'autr' hier encor un Loup glouton
Me devoroit une chevrete,
Chacun mon dommage en regrette,
Elle en rioit, ce me dit-on.

Mira com' anco senz' alcun sospetto
Quella vite a quell' olmo in grembo
posa:

Me Fillide ognor fugge, e non è cosa
Che più che 'l suo fuggire abbia in
dispetto.

Mille fiate ho già senza custode
Lasciato solo il mio bel gregge ai lupi,
Che ne fanno ogni dì prede sicure.

Un capretto l'altr' ier da queste rupi
Vid' io portarne, e piansi, ed ella pure
Superba stassi, e del mio pianto gode.

Idyl 13 ("Vous estes, ô Philis, fort belle") is from Tasso (p. 375, No. 111, "Voi sete bella, ma fugace, e presto"). Travers cites the original source, Horace, *Odes*, i. 24. Idyl 15 is, I think, taken from Navagero.¹

Idyl 16 is an interesting poem. Lemer cier, after reading it, exclaims: "Is it Vauquelin who speaks to Anne de Bourgueville, or Paul to Virginia?" To which the answer is, it is neither; the voice is the voice of Charino, an afflicted shepherd in the *Arcadia* of San-nazaro. I quote an extract:

Adieu nos jeux, au bois nous n'irons plus
Tendre aus oiseaux nos filets ni la glus.
Vollez oiseaux, assurez en vos aises.
Nous n'irons plus seules cueillir des fraises.
Je n'iray plus chercher dans les taillis,
Des nids d'oiseaux pour vous donner, Philis:
Des nouveautez des saisons de l'annee,
Vous ne serez de moy plus etrenee.
Adieu les fleurs dont, de ma propre main,
Je vous parois et le chef et le sain.
Las! mille fois vous tenant embrassee,
Vous ay-je pas les lieux fangeux passee?
Sans vous oser regarder ni parler,
Quand une peur vous faisoit m'accoler:
Que vostre face estoit sur moy panchee
Et vostre joue à la mienne aprochee?

The entire poem is nothing but a repetition of the description of the youthful bird-snaring in the *Arcadia* and the farewell pronounced by Charino, who asks the spirit of his faithless love whether she has

¹ *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*, p. 41, "O formosa Amarylli. . . ."

forgotten the first lilies and the first roses, which he always brought to her from the countryside ransacked by him. He concludes his farewell with "Addio, rive; addio, piaggie verdissime et fiumi" (*Arcadia*, ed. cit., p. 151). Travers, unaware of the borrowing from Sannazaro, has, in this case as in others, given as the source of the French poet the source of the Italian original. In this case the classical source is Theocritus, i. 113 ff. It appears to me beyond doubt that Théodore de Banville, that *poète ronsardisant*, had Vauquelin's poem in mind when he wrote his affecting lines "Nous n'irons plus au bois, les lauriers sont coupés." Theocritus—Sannazaro—Vauquelin—Banville; that is an interesting poetic chain.

Idyl 17 ("Quand Philanon, Philis, ne t'aimera") is, at first sight, merely an indifferent specimen of a thousand lover's oaths to be found in the Italian and French poetry of the period. But even in such a trifling composition, I find that Vauquelin is not original; for this commonplace is evidently based upon a similar oath to be found in Tasso (p. 380, No. 154, "Tirsi sotto un bel pino").

Idyl 18 ("Philis novice au beau temple d'Amour") is a series of pastoral commonplaces strung together. I give borrowings from Tasso:

Ce qui apprend à voler aux oiseaux,
Ce qui enseigne à combattre aux
taureaux
Aprit Philis à sentir la pointure
De l'éguillon de la douce Nature.

Je sentoy bien au cœur je ne sçay
quoi,
Qui me faisoit approcher pres de toy,
Et te chercher, et ne me sçavoy plaire
Qu'avecque toy, compagne volontaire.
Mais je promets que je ne pensoy pas
Que l'Amour fust meslé dans nos ebats
Quand tu fus pris en sa traitresse
embuche
Ou maintenant, Philanon, je trebuche.

Quel che insegna agli augelli il canto
e 'l volo,
A' pesci il nuoto, ed a' montoni il
cozzo,
Al toro usar il corno,
(Tasso, *Aminia*, Act II, sc. 2).

Seco tendeva insidie con le reti
Ai pesci ed agli augelli
Ma, mentre io fea rapina d' animali,
Fui, non so come, a me stesso rapito:
A poco a poco naeque nel mio petto,
Non so da qual radice,
Com' erba suol che per sè stessa
germinì,
Un incognito affetto
Che mi fea desiare
D'esser sempre presente
Alla mia bella Silvia

(*ibid.*, Act I, sc. 2).

The latter passage of the *Aminia* is based upon the *Arcadia*.

Idyl 21 ("Une autrefois encor, ô champestres Bocages") we may, perhaps, present to Vauquelin as "original." The threatened suicide of the lover in Idyl 22 ("Philanon apres ses voyages") is a feature probably borrowed from the *Arcadia*.

Idyl 23 ("En ce lieu se trouva seulete") is a rendering of a pretty sonnet by Remigio Fiorentino, "Qui venne al suon de la sampogna mia."

Of Idyl 24 we have an English version by Philip Ayres.¹ There is, therefore, probably an Italian original.

Idyl 25 is a borrowing from Varchi:

A peine je pouvois atteindre
Aux plus basses branches des bois,
Quand petite en cueillant des nois,
Tes yeux premier me firent craindre,
Quand je te vi, petit garçon,
Garcete dire une chanson:

Quand je te vis avec ta mere,
Qui par la main te conduisoit,
Et qui des fraises t'avisait
Comme à sa fille la plus chere:
Des lors je me senty vraiment
Tout ravi, je ne sçay comment.

Je puisse mourir si des l'heure,
Tout petit garçon que j'estois,
Je changé plus de mille fois
De couleur en couleur meilleure;
etc.

Appena potev' io, bella Licori,
Giunger da terra i primi rami ancora,
Quando ti vidi fanciulletta fuora
Gir con tua madre a coglier erbe e fiori:

Possa io morir, se di mille colori
Non sentii farmi tutto quanto allora;
Nè sapea ancor che fosse amor; ma ora
Ben me l' anno insegnato i miei dolori.
Già viss' io presso a te felice e lieto;
Ore a te lunge mi distempro e doglio,
Testimon questa selce e quel ginebro.

Pur vo pensando; e in questo sol
m' acqueto,
Che cangiar tosto deggio, non pur voglio,
L'Ovoli e l'Arno a l'Aniene, e l'Tebro.

Varchi in this sonnet is evidently imitating a favorite model of his, Tasso (Act I, sc. 11, of the *Aminta*). Tasso has taken the idea from the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro. The classical sources are Theocritus, xi. 25, and Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 37-41.

According to Travers, Idyl 27 is a development of an epigram by Meleager in the *Anthology* (cap. xii, No. 60). Vauquelin's model seems, however, to have been some Italian poem which suggested to Drummond his lines commencing "Bright meteor of day."

Idyl 28, with its mixture of similes, is probably an "original" effort, the outcome of a diligent perusal of Italian models.

¹ Saintsbury, *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, II, 339.

Idyl 30, a comparison between Phyllis and the Dawn, is, in the opinion of Lemerrier, a delicious *aubade*. Such comparisons are frequent in the Italian poetry of the time. Vauquelin depends upon his favorite Tasso (p. 370, No. 68).¹

A ce matin, ce doux Zephire,
Qu'on oit par ce bocage bruire,
Et cet air frais et doucelet,
Qui nous le donne? Est-ce l'Aurore?
Ou si ce plaisant ventelet,
Vient voir ici sa dame Flore?

Ha c'est Phillis qui vient, qui mene
Amour enchainé d'une chène
Fait de roses et de fleurs:
Elle arrive comme Deesse,
Arrière ennui, arrière pleurs,
Le Ris la suit et l'allegresse.

Forse è cagion l'aurora
Di questo bel contento
Che fan le fronde, e i rami, e l'acque,
e 'l vento?
O con sì dolce modo
Il Ciel Tarquinia onora?
E per lei della terra s'innamora?
l'odo (o parmi) i' odo
La voce: ella è pur dessa,
Ecco Tarquinia viene, Amor s'appressa.

Idyl 31 is, according to Travers, a development of an epigram from the *Anthology*.² Vauquelin in his translation is, however, following an Italian intermediary. I believe there are versions by Celiano and Bianciardi.

Lemerrier describes Idyl 32 ("Comme me brulez vous ainsi") as a masterpiece of bad taste. This idyl is a bungled translation of a conundrum which was propounded to some fair one by Tasso (p. 367, No. 34, "Come sì m'accendete"). "How," the Italian poet demands, "how do you burn me so, if you are all ice? And at the fire, which you impart to me, you, being ice, why do you not melt? From ice you turn to stone. O miracle of Love beyond Nature, that ice should burn another, and at fire become hard!" Drummond has also tried his hand at this piece with not much more success than Vauquelin.³

Idyl 34 ("En une fontaine clairete") is a fairly literal translation of Tasso (p. 379, No. 149, "In un fonte tranquillo"). Idyl 35

¹ Guido Cavalcanti (c. 1255-1300) has a sonnet commencing:

Chi è questa che ven, ch'ogn'om la mira,
E fa tremar di claritate l'a' re,
E mena seco Amor (ed. Ercole, p. 266).

² *Anthologia Palatina*, cap. v, No. 142.

³ Both Ward and Kastner, in their successive researches, have failed to detect some of Drummond's imitations of Tasso, including this poem. "The Miracle," a version by Suckling (*Works*, ed. Hamilton Thompson, 1910, p. 66), is rather more remote from the Italian, and is possibly transcribed from some French intermediary.

("Philanon mirant son visage") is also from Tasso (p. 379, No. 148, "Sovra un lucido rio").

Idyl 36 ("Amour, tay toy: mais pren ton arc") is in all likelihood a happy version of an epigram by some Italian poet, probably Latinist. Idyl 37, a weak epistle, addressed to Baif, appears to be original, although the theme—an appeal to his brother poet to teach him some sweet language to overcome the rigor of his Philis—is a commonplace in the poetry of the time. Idyls 38 and 39 are avowedly from the Latin of Du Bellay (our poet only kept concealed his indebtedness to Italian poets). Idyl 40 is entitled "From the Greek"; Travers gives the 1st ode of Anacreon as the model for the concluding half.

Idyl 42 "a pretty piece, inclosing reminiscences of Theocritus and Virgil," according to Travers, is in reality a borrowing from Varchi:¹

Toy, qui peux bien me rendre
heureux,

Pourquoy te rends-tu si hautaine,
Philis, di moy? Car si tu veux
Tu rendras heureuse ma peine.

Je sçay que je ne suis des beaux:
Mais aussi je ne suis sans grace,
Aumoins si l'argent de ces eaux
Me montre au vray quelle est ma face.

Nul plus que moy n'a de troupeaux,
Ni plus de fructs ni de laitage:
Chez moy ne manquent les chevreaux,
Ni le Salé, ni le fourmage.

Je voudroy seulement ici
Dedans ces bois tout franc d'envie,
Sans des villes avoir souci,
Vivre avec toy toute ma vie.

Las! Philanon, qui te conduit
En t'egarant en cette sorte?
Vois-tu point ton troupeau, qui fuit
Le Loup, qui ton mouton emporte?

Filli, io non son però tanto deforme
Se 'l vero a gli occhi miei quest' acqua
dice,

Che tu, che sola puoi farmi felice,
Non dovessi talor men fera accorme:

Non pascon de le mie più belle torme;
Nè ha più grassi agnei questa pendice;
Ben già, ma non l' intesi, una cornice
Predisse il fato al mio voler disforme.

Io vorrei, Filli, sol per queste valli,
Senza punto curar d' armento o gregge,
Vivermi teco infino a l' ora estrema.

Con cui parli, meschin? Che pur
vanegge?

Non vedi un lupo là fra quei duo calli,
Da cui fugge la mandra, e tutta trema?

¹ Varchi may have been acquainted with the classical sources, but he had also probably read the passage in the *Aminta*, Act II, sc. 1:

... non son io
Da disprezzar, se ben me stesso vidi
Nel liquido del mar.

The ultimate classical source is Theocritus, vi. 31, and iii. 8.

Idyl 44 I find among the Latin poems of Girolamo Amalteo:

Anxia quid nitidos fletu corrumpis ocellos?
 Et Pandioniam perditā quæris avem?
 Non dominam effugit, nemorum colit illa recessus,
 Dum volucres doceat nomen, Hyella, tuum.¹

The same piece also figures among the *Carmina* of his brother Giovanni Battista Amalteo:

Quid toties fletu nitidos corrumpis ocellos,
 Et profugam toties anxia quæris avem?
 Non dominam effugit; nemorum colit illa recessus,
 Dum doceat volucres nomen, Hyella, tuum.²

The diffuseness of Idyl 46 ("Quand, Philine, quelque courroux") might well lead us to pronounce it original. The poem is, however, a paraphrase of an epigram in the first book of those hendecasyllables of Pontanus, which awoke the enthusiasm of Du Bellay.³ The epigram is entitled "Ad Bathyllam":

Cum rides, mihi basium negasti
 Cum ploras, mihi basium dedisti,
 Una in tristitia libens benigna es,
 Una in lætitia volens severa es,
 Nata est de lachrymis mihi voluptas,
 De risu dolor. ô miselli amantes
 Sperate simul omnia, et timete.⁴

¹ Gruterus, *Delitiae CC. Italarum poetarum*, I, 73.

² *Actii Sincerii Sannazarii . . . Opera Latine scripta. Ex secundis curis Jani Broukhuzii. Accedunt Gabrielis Altillii, Danielis Cereti et Fratrum Amaltheorum carmina*, Amsterdam, 1728, p. 441.

³ "Adopte moy aussi en la famille françoise ces coulans et mignars hendecasyllabes, à l'exemple d'un Catulle, d'un Pontan et d'un Second: ce que tu pouras faire, si non en quantité, pur le moins en nombre de syllabes" (Du Bellay, *La Defence et Illustration de la Langue Francoise*, book 2, chap. iv, "Queiz genres de poëmes doit elire le poëte francoys"). Upon this strange and obscure piece of advice, see the note by Chamard in his edition of the *Defence* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1904). The contention of Person, in his edition of the *Defence*, that Du Bellay was referring here to the Flemish neo-Latinist poet, Peter de Ponte, is, to my mind, completely disposed of by the one fact alone that, in his *Art Poétique* (which shows many other signs of an acquaintance with the *Defence*), Vauquelin makes a reference to "les doux vers de Catule, de Pontan, de Second" (p. 70, ed. of Travers).

⁴ *Pontani Opera*, Aldus, Venice, 1533, folio 193 verso. Desportes has given a neater translation of this epigram (*Œuvres*, ed. Michiels, p. 443).

Despite the reference to the Orne, Idyl 48 is nothing but a literal translation of some verses by Flaminio:

Desja le point du jour
Ecarte l'ombre humide,
On voit tout alentour
L'Aube qui le jour guide,
Les oiseaux de leurs voix
Vont saluant les bois.

Philine, levez vous,
Menez vos brebis paistre
Aupres des ombres dous
De quelque ombrageux hestre:
Philis, ne paressons,
Joyeux nos ans passons.

Aux beaux vallons ombreux
Pour aujourd'hui je mene
Mes vaches et mes bœufs
Pres de la grand' fontene:
Il fera si grand chaud
Que chercher l'ombre il faut, etc.

Iam fugat humentes formosus Lucifer
umbras,

Et dulci Auroram voce salutat avis,
Surge Amarylli, greges niveos in pascua
pelle;

Frigida dum cano gramina rore
madent.

Ipse meas hodie nemorosâ in valle
capellas

Pasco; namque hodie maximus
æstus erit, etc.¹

There is also a slight reminiscence here of Passerat's lines on a May morning: "Laissons le lit et le sommeil."²

Idyl 50, commencing

Cette vie est la forest
Ou seul Philanon se plaist:
Cette ombre et cette verdure
Est l'Espoir qui peu luy dure,

is imitated from Tasso,

Questa vita è la selva; il verde, e l'ombra
Son fallaci speranze, etc. (p. 371, No. 70).

In the *Phoenix Nest*, published in 1593, we find an English version of this allegory, written by "T. L. Gent" (that is, Thomas Lodge), commencing:

Like desert woods with darksome shades obscured
Where dreadful beasts, where hateful horror reigneth,
Such is my wounded heart, whom sorrow paineth.

In *England's Helicon*, another almost identical version is attributed to Sir Edward Dyer.³ But the rhyming of these English versions

¹ Gruterus, *Delitiæ CC. Italicorum poetarum*, I, 1010.

² Passerat is mentioned by Vauquelin in his *Art poétique*, ed. Travers, p. 106.

³ *England's Helicon*, ed. Bullen, London, 1899. See pp. 128 and 239.

(*abb, abb, abb, abb, acc*) convinces me that they are borrowed from some other Italian model.

Idyl 52 is a very happy turning of a little piece by Tasso (p. 374, No. 104):

Si ces Epines, ces haliers,
Ces buissons et ces aiglantiers,
Etoient des fleches bien poignantes:
Et que ces feuilles et ces fleurs,
Phillis, fussent flames, ardeurs,
Et fournaies toutes ardantes:

Pour m'approcher aupres de vous,
Je ne craindroy fleches ni coups,
Ni la flame plus violente:
Je passeroiy parmi les dards,
Parmi les feux, par tous hasards,
Pour courre à vous, Nymphe excelente.

Se tutte acuti strali
Fossero queste spine:
E tutte queste frondi, e questi fiori
Paresser vive fiamme, e vivi ardori,
Il frondoso confine
Tenteria di passar la destra ardità,
Senza temer di foco, o di ferita,
Sol per toccarti or, che non vede alcuno,
Tra sì bel verde, e bruno.

Travers says that Idyl 53 incloses "the movement of Ode 14 of Anacreon with another sense." Vauquelin's real model is probably to be found among the Italian Latinists.

Idyl 54 is a paraphrase of some lines by Pontanus, "De Focillæ puellæ oculis":

Depuis qu'Amour sied dans tes yeux,
Le caut d'un art ingenieux
Commence à player tout le monde
De mille traits, dont il abonde.

Et si plus ne darde enflamez
Ses traits jadis accoutumez
Ni de sa flame accoutumee,
Ne nous est la flame alumee:

Mais alors que tes yeux ecarts
Vont voletant de toutes parts,
Que tu fais en mille manieres
Des rais et des belles lumieres,

A l'heure ce trompeur enfant
De tels darts s'en va triomphant
Dessus les ames amoureuses,
Qui par tes yeux sont langoureuses.

In tuis Amor insidens ocellis
Mira cœpit ab arte vulnerare,
Nec suetas pharetra iacit sagittas,
Nec tendit veterem recurvus arcum,
Sed quum lumina, petulosque ocellos
Huc illuc agis, et subinde rides,
Istis utitur ille tunc sagittis,
Istis corda quatit, feritque amantum,
Isti spicula sunt, facesque ocelli.
Quoscunque aspicias ipsa, vulnerantur,
Omnes vulnerat, aspicias quot ipsa,
Omnes ustulat, ipsa quos tueris. . . .¹

The concluding three lines quoted from the Latin piece apparently account for the succeeding Idyl 55:

De tous ceux la que tu regardes
Le cœur de mille traits tu dardes.

¹ I. Pontani . . . Opera, ed. of Bâle, 1556, IV, 3484.

Idyl 56 is, I take it, a borrowing from some Latinist. In any case, we find much the same idea in Tahureau.¹ Idyl 57 ("Dessous un pin au feuillage pointu") was possibly suggested by Tasso (p. 398, No. 315, "Pria muteranno il corso").

Idyl 59 is another sonnet by Varchi:

Ton Philanon t'envoie, ô Philis,
cette cage,
Ou de l'ouvrier ne manque aucun
gentil ouvrage:
Voy le mignard auget, voy de quelle
façon
Est pendu pour le boire un vuide limaçon:
Voy ce Serin dedans venu de Bar-
barie,
Qui de mille fredons, mille beaux chants
varie!
Mais je te pri' pour luy (car il n'ose
chetif
Luy mesme te prier, tant fort il est
craintif)
Qu'il te plaise venir demain la mati-
nee,
Si tost que le Soleil ouvrira la journee,
En cette belle Pree ou ton ceil le blessa,
Quand premier entre vous vostre amour
commença.
Seule medeciner tu peux sa maladie,
Seule rendre tu peux son ardeur
attiedie:
Seule tu le peux faire heureux ou
malheureux,
Et la mort à la vie echanger tu luy peux.
D'ou c'est que vint son mal luy
viendra son remede:
Car son mal et son bien ta volonté
possede.
Je le feray, Tyrsis, là demain je seray,
Et mesme si je puis, son mal j'apaiseray.
Le lendemain au Pré, sincere en sa
promesse,
A son cher Philanon elle osta la tristesse
Par sa douce presence et content et
joyeux
Il tint son heur egal à l'heur des demi-
dieux.

Nape, questa vezzosa ornata gabbia
Con un bel raperin che sale al dito,
Carin ti manda, ed io per lui t'invito,
Ch' ei non osa a gran pena aprir le
labbia,
Che ti piaccia venir, come il sole
abbia
Diman portato il giorno, in quel fiorito
Prato, ove amor l' ebbe per te ferito,
Ond' ei, che muore ognor, vita riabbia.
Solo il vederti a lui può dare aita;
Solo un guardo di te può togli morte;
Sola far lo puoi tu lieto e felice.
Ben lo farò, Damon; così partita
Facesse via più tosto, e 'n via più corte
Ore scoprisse il sol questa pendice.

¹ *Sonnets, odes et mignardises*, ed. Blanchemain, p. 88.

I first made my acquaintance with Vauquelin in the pages of Crépet's anthology,¹ the first two volumes of which afford such an excellent introduction to early French poetry. Among the poems reproduced there is Idyl 60. When I read this poem, I exclaimed, "Why, this poet seems capable of turning out lovely little pieces!" Crépet also includes Idyl 52, already cited, and a portion of the 7th from the second book of idyls. It was the reading of these three pretty pieces that determined me to make a further acquaintance with our poet. As I will show, they are all taken from Tasso. It was gratifying to discover afterward that my selection consisted of those pieces: nor did I for a moment think of bracketing, as Sainte-Beuve has done, these three pieces with translations from Varchi and from the Italian Latinists. Moreover, I found that my instinct was right in that I had preferred the pieces taken from Varchi to those taken from the Latinists.

Here is this happy little piece, Idyl 60. Although a translation, it is about as near an inspired poem as anything I know in French poetry. The reference in Tasso is p. 377, No. 129:

Entre les fleurs, entre les lis
Doucement dormoit ma Philis,
Et tout au tour de son visage
Les petits Amours, comme enfants,
Jouoient, folastroient, triomfants,
Voyant des cieux la belle image.

J'admiroy toutes ses beautez
Egales à mes loyautez,
Quand l'esprit me dist en l'oreille:
Foul, que fais-tu? le temps perdu,
Souvent est cherement vendu,
S'on le recouvre c'est merveille.

Alors je m'abbaissé tout bas,
Sans bruit je marché pas à pas,
Et baisé ses levres pourprines:
Savourant un tel bien, je dis,
Que tel est dans le paradis
Le plaisir des ames divines.

Dolcemente dormiva la mia Clori
E 'ntorno al suo bel volto
Givan scherzando i pargoletti Amori.
Mirav' io da me tolto
Con gran diletto lei,
Quando dir mi sentii: Stolto, che fai?
Tempo perduto non s'acquista mai.
Allor io mi chinai così pian piano,
E baciandole il viso,
Provai quanta dolcezza ha il paradiso.

Drummond has given us an inferior translation of Tasso's lines—inferior, at all events, in form—under the title "Stolen Pleasure":

¹ Eugène Crépet, *Les poètes français: Recueil des chefs-d'œuvre de la poésie française*, Paris, 1861.

My sweet did sweetly sleep,
 And on her rosy face
 Stood tears of pearl, which beauty's self did weep;
 I, wond'ring at her grace,
 Did all amaz'd remain,
 When Love said "Fool, can looks thy wishes crown?
 Time past comes not again."
 Then did I me bow down,
 And kissing her fair breast, lips, cheeks and eyes,
 Prov'd here on earth the joys of paradise.¹

Vauquelin had introduced into Idyl 16, as an original feature, the dog Turquet. But from Idyl 61 ("Phillis, ne crains Turquet ton chien") we find that the dog's name was originally Grechino, and that it had belonged to an Italian shepherdess who figures in the pages of Tasso (p. 373, No. 90, "Isabellina, non fuggir Grechino").

Idyl 62 was admired by Sainte-Beuve. It is from Varchi:

Pasteurs, voici la Fonteinete
 Ou tousjours se venoit mirer
 Et ses beautez seule admirer,
 La pastourelle Philinete.
 Voici le mont ou de la bande
 Je la vi la dance mener,
 Et les nymphes l'environner
 Comme celle qui leur commande.

Pasteurs, voici la verte Pree
 Ou les fleurs elle ravissoit,
 Dont apres elle embellissoit
 Sa perruque blonde et sacree.

Ici folastre et decrochee
 Contre un chesne elle se cacha:
 Mais paravant elle tacha
 Que je la visse estre cachee.

Dans cet Antre secret encore
 Mile fois elle me baisa:
 Mais depuis mon cœur n'apaisa
 De la flame qui le devore.

Donc à toutes ces belles places,
 A la Fontaine, au Mont, au Pré,
 Au Chesne, à l'Antre tout sacré,
 Pour ces dons je rends mile graces.

Questo è, Tirsi, quel fonte, in cui
 solea

Specchiarsi la mia dolce pastorella:
 Questi quei prati son, Tirsi, dov' ella
 Verdi ghirlande a' suoi bei crin' tessea:

Qui, Tirsi, la vid' io, mentre sedea:
 Quivi i balli menar leggiadra e snella:
 Quinci, Tirsi, mi rise, e dietro a
 quella

Elce s'ascose sì, ch' io la vedea:
 Sotto quest' antro alfin cinto d' allori
 La mano ond' ho nel cor mille ferite
 Mi porse lieta, e mi baciò la fronte.

A l' antro dunque, a l' elce, ai prati,
 al fonte,
 Mille spargendo al ciel diversi fiori,
 Rendo io di tanto don grazie infinite.

Some Latin lines by Angeriano apparently suggested Idyl 64.²

¹ *Poems*, ed. Ward, II, 140.

² *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*, Venice, 1548, p. 46, "Dispercam nisi"

Idyl 66 ("Sainte Venus, qu'en Cypre et qu'en Cythere") is taken from Tasso (p. 398, No. 313, "Se, o Dea, che reggi Cipri, e 'l terzo Cielo").

Idyl 67 must be borrowed from some Italian source. The idea of this pastoral is not unlike that contained in a passage in Johnson's *Sad Shepherd* (Act II, sc. 4). Idyl 68 ("En vostre bouchette vermeille") is from Tasso (p. 364, No. 7, "Ne i vostri dolci baci").

De Bourgueville, the father-in-law of the poet, approved completely, we are told, the idyl commencing "Jamais le beau Soleil n'ouvrit un plus beau jour" (No. 69). He had reason. For, as a matter of fact, it is taken from one of the prettiest passages in Guarini's *Pastor Fido*. I quote the passage from Guarini and some corresponding lines from Vauquelin:

Jamais le beau Soleil n'ouvrit un plus beau jour:	Oh giorno pien di maraviglie! oh giorno Tutto amor, tutto grazie, e tutto gioja!
Les Elements estoient pleins de Ris et d'Amour:	O terra avventurosa! oh ciel cortese!
Tous les vents se taisoient aux monts, aux vaux, aux plaines,	Oggi ogni cosa si rallegrì: terra, Cielo, aria, foco, e 'l mondo tutto rida.
Aux Etangs endormis, aux courantes fontaines,	Selve beate,
Quand Philanon jettant sur Philis son regard	Se sospirando in flebili susurri Al nostro lamentar vi lamentaste;
Puis regardant le Ciel aussi d'une autre part,	Gioite anco al gioire, e tante lingue Sciogliete, quante frondi
Disoit: j'atteste Pan, les Faunes et Driades	Scherzando al suon di queste Piene del gioir nostro aure ridenti.
Et toy, luisant Phœbus, qui nous vois et regardes,	Cantate le venture e le dolcezze De' duo beati amanti.
Que cependant qu'en l'air les oiseaux voleront,	Oh se tu avessi
Et tant qu'en l'Ocean les poissons nageront,	Veduta la bellissima Amarilli, Quando la man per pegno della fede
Tousjours Philis sera de Philanon aimée.	A Mirtillo ella porse, E per pegno d'amor Mirtillo a lei
Philis luy redisoit: Tandis que la ramee	Un dolce sì, ma non inteso bacio, Non so se dir mi debbia o diede o tolse;
Sera l'honneur des bois et seront blancs les lis,	Saresti certo di dolcezza morta. Che porpora! che rose!
Tousjours aimé sera Philanon de Philis.	Ogni colore o di natura o d' arte, Vincean le belle guance,
Ils se baillent la main, comme un gage fidelle	Che vergogna copriva Con vago scudo di beltà sanguigna,
De leur loyale foy: Philanon proche d'elle	Che forza di ferirle

Luy donne un doux baiser, ou bien il le recut:	Al feritor giungeva:
Car si pris ou donné, point on ne l'aperceut.	Ed ella, in atto ritrosetta e schiva,
Il fut pris et receu d'une grace si belle	Mostrava di fuggire
Qu'une fois il sembloit un baiser de pucelle:	Per incontrar più dolcemente il colpo;
Il sembloit l'autre fois pris de telle façon,	E lasciò in dubbio, se quel bacio fosse
Qu'on l'eust dit le baiser d'un amour- eux garçon.	O rapito o donato;
O de quel beaux oeillets, de quelles belles roses,	Con sì mirabil arte
Cette couleur vermeille, ô Honte, tu composes!	Fu conceduto e tolto: e quel soave
Ce vermeillon de vierge, en sa face epandu,	Mostrarsene ritrosa,
Le beau teint de Philis avoit plus beau rendu!	Era un no che voleva; un atto misto
Estant de Philanon au baiser pour- suivie,	Di rapina e d'acquisto;
La rougeur tesmoignoit qu'elle en estoit ravie:	Un negar sì cortese, che bramava
Et l'ayant octroyé par un refus ainsi,	Quel che negando dava;
La defence monstroit une semonce aussi.	Un vietar, ch' era invito
	Sì dolce d' assalire,
	Ch' a rapir chi rapiva era rapito;
	Un restar e fuggire,
	Ch' affrettava il rapire.
	O dolcissimo bacio!
	Non posso più, Corisca:
	Vo diritto diritto
	A trovarmi una sposa:
	Che 'n sì liete dolcezze
	Non si può ben gioir, se non amando
	(Ergasto describing the betrothal of Amarillis and Mirtillo, <i>Pastor Fido</i> Act V, sc. 8).

Idyl 71 is noted by Travers as a rendering of an epigram from the Greek *Anthology*.¹

Though nearly all his poetry is taken from foreign sources, Vauquelin evidently did not forget the advice of Du Bellay that old French poetry should not be wholly neglected by the poetic aspirants of the French Renaissance.² It was this behest, I think, which made Vauquelin drag in the reference to the *Romant de la Rose* in Idyl 73 ("Le Bouton vermeil, dont compose"). But the idyl itself

¹ *Anthologia Palatina*, ed. Dübner, cap. v, No. 79.

² "De tous les ancients poëtes francoys, quasi un seul, Guillaume du Lauris et Jan de Meun, sont dignes d'estre leuz, non tant pour ce qu'il ait en eux beaucoup de choses qui se doyvent immiter des modernes, comme pour y voir quasi comme une premiere image de la langue francoyse, venerable pour son antiquité" (*La Defence*, etc., Book II, chap. II). Étienne Pasquier paraphrases this opinion, stating that "Guillaume de Lorry and Jean de Mehum" (the successive authors of the *Romant*) were held by some in France to be worthy of comparison with Dante (*Recherches*, Book VII, chap. III, ed. 1723, I, col. 690). Sibilet, in his *Art Poétique*, also eulogizes the poem. Ronsard puts it in the same rank as Petrarch; a judgment faithfully repeated by his follower Baif.

is a confused reminiscence of a short piece by Tasso (p. 364, No. 15, "La natura compose").

Having described the scene in which the lovers plighted their troth, Vauquelin must, of course, like Guarini, conclude his pastoral romance with an epithalamium. The romance being a rustic one, the epithalamium need not be over nice; and Vauquelin decides to translate into the vulgar tongue a Latin piece by Pontanus.¹ In Idyl 74 ("La lune avoit marqué les mois") we have the result.² Idyl 75 is a pretty thing, an appeal distantly resembling Burn's "Flow gently, sweet Afton." The theme is common enough;³ but I have come across no model sufficiently near to deprive Vauquelin of the credit of having produced in this a passably original and neat poem.

Idyl 76 is a free imitation of Theocritus, XII. Lines 19 and 20,

Ainsi qu'un Rossignol dans un touffu bocage
Surmonte tous oiseaux par son plaisant ramage,

are again reminiscent of Passerat's ode on a May morning:

Viens, belle, viens te pourmener
Dans ce bocage,
Entens les oiseaux jargonner
De leur ramage.
Mais escoute comme sur tous
Le rossignol est le plus dous.

Idyl 77 is a translation of some Latin lines by Flaminio,⁴ translated in turn from a sonnet by Claudio Tolomei, "Gelidi fonti in fresca valle ombrosa," which Vauquelin appears to have also read.

¹ *Pontani Opera*, Aldus, Venice, 1533, first book of hendecasyllables. Fol. 195 ro., "De nuptiis Ioannis Branchati, et Maritellæ."

² Lemerrier, thinking that this idyl was composed by the poet himself upon his own marriage, expresses some natural astonishment at its tone. The question of the identification of the poet's wife, Anne, with the Phillis of the idyls, presents some baffling points. In the idyl under discussion, Vauquelin departs from his model in order to insert a date, the 5th of July, 1560, which does not tally with the date of his own marriage contract, the 21st of August, 1559 (*Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1845, p. 520, footnote 10). Yet, possibly with a view of avoiding criticism, as I have already suggested, he at times clearly identifies Anne with Phillis; for instance, in the next idyl but one. Idyl 64, Book II, supports the theory that Vauquelin wished to forestall criticism by inserting his wife's name. I deem the reference to her in Idyl 66, Book II, to have been interpolated; the heading of this "idyl" suggests that when it was written the publication of a collection of idyls was not contemplated.

³ Cf., for example, p. 103 of the *Sonnets, odes et mignardises* of Tahureau, ed. Blanchemain, and Tasso's lines "Selva lieta, e superba" (p. 337, No. 13).

⁴ Gruterus, *Deliciae CC. Italorum poetarum*, I, 1015, "Irrigui fontes . . ."

Idyl 78 I also attribute to the study of Flaminio; Idyl 79 ("Desja venant herissonné") is from the same poet's lines "Ad seipsum, de adventu Hiemis" ("Iam bruma veniente præterivit").¹

Idyl 80 purports to be a rendering of the 1st Eclogue of Virgil, formerly translated by Marot in 10-syllable measure. In Idyl 81 ("Fraiches ombrettes, dous Zephire") Vauquelin again returns to Flaminio, borrowing the Latin poet's address "Ad agellum suum" ("Umbrae frigidulae, arborum susurri").² Idyl 82 ("Las! quand pourrai-je accomplir mon desir") breathes the sentiment of Du Bellay's celebrated lament over his *Petit Lyré*.³ The first book of Vauquelin's idyls concludes with a sonnet ("Philis, quand je regarde au temps prompt et léger") for which I have found no parallel; but the poem strikes me as being too sound not to have been borrowed wholesale from some Italian source.

Having reached the end of the "Idyls and Pastorals of the love of Philanon and Philis," I now proceed to dispose more summarily of what our poet is pleased to distinguish as the "Idyls of the Love of divers Shepherds." Idyl 1 of this second book is a sonnet quite empty enough to be original. For Idyl 2 ("Ce Reposoir et ce plaisant Bôquet") we have to turn to Tasso's series of love sonnets (p. 283, Sonnet 160, "Questo riposto bel vago boschetto"). Idyl 3 ("Dans un Buisson couvert de beaux ombrages") is also a sonnet by Tasso masquerading in another form (p. 298, Sonnet 245, "In un bel bosco di leggiadre fronde"). Idyl 4 ("Tytire, au beau sein blanchissant") is also from Tasso (p. 369, No. 55, "Nel dolce seno della bella Clori").

Idyl 5 ("O Vent plaisant, qui d'aleine odorante") is a sonnet of which Sainte-Beuve says, "It is of the small number of those in

¹ *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*, p. 112. Vauquelin uses the language of Tahureau. Cf. the piece "Quitton, ma belle maitresse" in the *Sonnets*, etc., ed. Blanchemain, p. 98.

² Gruterus, *op. cit.*, I, 994.

³ Lemerrier, I observe, remarks on the resemblance which another sonnet by Vauquelin bears to Du Bellay's sonnet. He concludes that Vauquelin is not borrowing from Du Bellay, since the borrowing would accuse him of too much indiscretion and audacity. To my mind, taken in conjunction with the further resemblance noted by me above, there cannot be the slightest doubt that Vauquelin was imitating Du Bellay in both cases. Chamard, in his thesis on Du Bellay (p. 241), observes of that poet's *Élégie sur la mort de Gélonis*: "Whoever will read it will be surprised to discover in it an avant-dessein, as it were, of the *Consolation à du Périer sur la mort de sa fille*; by the ideas, by the images, Du Bellay anticipates Malherbe." The observation is of interest in conjunction with the strong resemblance which has been remarked between a sonnet by Vauquelin and the same verses of Malherbe.

which sentiment triumphs over the *bel esprit*, in which the form gives relief to the sentiment, and of which one would be tempted to say without epigram that they are worth a long poem."¹ Vauquelin, indeed, has shown some discrimination in his choice of models. In this case he is translating a fine sonnet by Giovanni Mozzaello, "Aura soave, che sì dolcemente." Idyl 6 is avowedly an imitation of Ode 23. 1, of Horace. Idyl 7 I at first attributed to a study of the 5th and 7th songs of Catullus, combined with the beautiful epigram of Plato:

'Αστέρας εἰσαθρεῖς ἀστήρ ἐμός. Εἶθε γενοίμην
Οὐρανός, ὥς πολλοῖς ὁμασιν εἰς σέ βλέπω.²

However, I was wrong in this assumption; for I find that the whole piece is merely an elaboration of a sonnet by Tasso (p. 292, Sonnet 210), worked up on the two classical sources I have mentioned. I reproduce the extract given by Crépet, along with the Italian model:

Comme une fleur au Renouveau
Ainsi fleurit vostre âge beau:
Vivons, aimons nous, belle Iolte,
Comme un oiseau le temps s'envole:
Je seray l'arbre, et vous serez
La vigne qui m'embrasserez:
Ainsi d'Acanthe on environne
Le chapiteau d'une colonne:
Ainsi l'ierre tout autour
Grimpe colé contre une tour.
Baison-nous donc, et que le conte
De nos baisers ardants surmonte
Les grains du sable de la Mer,
Et qu'aucun n'en puisse estimer
Le nombre, s'il ne conte encore
Combien la nuit jusqu'à l'Aurore
Il luit d'estoiles par les cieus:
Pleust à Dieu que j'eusse autant
d'yeux
Pour contempler plus à mon aise
Vos beaux Printemps quand je vous
baise

Viviamo, amiamci, o mia gradita Jelle,
Edra sia tu, che il caro tronco abbraccia:
Baciamci, e i baci, e le lusinghe taccia
Chi non ardisce annoverar le stelle.
Bacinsi insieme l'alme nostre anch'
elle:
Fabro sia Amor, che le distempri, e
sfaccia,
E che di due confuse una rifaccia
Che per un spirto sol spiri, e favelle.
Care Salmace mia, come s'innesta
L'una pianta nell'altra, e sovra l'orno
Verdeggia il pero, e l'un per l'altro è
vago;
Tal io n'andrò de' tuoi colori adorno:
Tal il tuo cor de' miei pensier si vesta,
E comun sia fra noi la penna, e l'ago.

¹ Tableau . . . de la poésie française au XVI^e siècle, Paris, Charpentier, p. 115.

² Anthologia Palatina, cap. vii, No. 669. Vauquelin has a rendering of the Greek epigram in his epigrams (*Œuvres*, II, 627, "D'un regard"). Saint-Gelais makes use of the epigram twice in his works; probably he borrowed it from some Italian intermediary.

Drummond of Hawthornden also took this sonnet by Tasso and turned it in like fashion into an irregularly rhymed piece of eleven lines.¹ This coincidence, combined with the fact that Drummond has also selected for translation other poems by Tasso that Vauquelin had translated, convinces me that Drummond was acquainted with Vauquelin. The further fact that he should have composed his *Flowers of Sion*, consisting of a series of religious poems, just as Vauquelin (imitating the Italian fashion) wrote a series of religious sonnets, confirms me in this belief.

Idyl 8 ("Au temps que sous la Canicule") is a borrowing from Girolamo Amalteo, "De Acone, et Leonillâ" ("Ut fugeret fervorem æstus sub sidere Cancrî").² The original of Idyl 9, a "sweet scene of interior à la Bernardin de Saint Pierre," as Lemer cier calls it, is to be found in the *Lusus Pastorales* of Flaminio. The parallel is worth reproducing.

O Galatee (ainsi tousjours la Grace
Te face avoir jeunesse et belle face)
Avec ta mere apres souper chez nous
Vien t'en passer cette longue seree:
Pres d'un beau feu, de nos gents separee
Ma mere et moy veillerons comme vous.

Plus que le jour la nuit nous sera belle,
Et nos bergers, à la claire chandelle,
Des contes vieux en teillant conteront:
Lise tandis nous cuira des chataignes:
Et si l'ebat des jeux tu ne dedaignes,
De nous dormir les jeux nous garderont.

Sic tibi perpetuam donet Venus alma
iuventam,

Ne faciem nitidam ruga senilis aret:
Post cenam cum matre tuâ dulcique
Lycinna

Ad matrem Pholoë cara venito meam.
Hic simul ad magnum læti vigilabimus
ignem;

Candidior pulchrâ nox erit ista die.
Fabellas vetulæ referent; nos læta
canemus

Carmina; castaneas parva Lycinna
coquet.

Sic noctem tenerisque iocis, risuque
trahemus,

Dum gravet incumbens lumina nostra
sopor.³

Idyl 10 ("Galatee est un liet d'Amour") is an expansion of a short piece by Tasso (p. 373, No. 94, "Letto è questo d' Amore, o pur di Flora"). Idyl 11 is an amalgam of lines taken from Tasso's *Aminta*, Act IV, scene 2 (conclusion), and the conclusion of Act V:

¹ See the madrigal "To Thaumantia," I, 167 of Ward's edition. Professor Kastner has already noted this borrowing by Drummond from Tasso in the *Modern Language Review*, October, 1911, in an article on the Italian and French sources of Drummond, p. 465.

² Gruterus, *Delitiae CC. Italorum poetarum*, I, 72. A slightly different version appears in *Actii Sincerii Sannazarii . . . Opera Latine scripta*, etc. (as already cited), p. 370.

³ Gruterus, *Delitiae CC. Italorum poetarum*, I, 1011.

Adieu pasteurs, adieu rivages,
Adieu plaines, adieu bocages,
Adieu vous dis, fleuve coulant,
Disoit la Nimphe en s'en allant.

Elle s'ecrie, et de grands cous
Elle se bat en son courrous.

Après tombant elle se couche
Dessus son corps, bouche sur bouche
Versant de pleurs par ses beaux yeux
Un grand orage pluvieux:
Dont l'eau fait lors telle efficace
Qu'arrosant du Pasteur la face,
Il revint comme du trepas,
Jettant du cœur un soupir bas.

Addio, pastori;
Piagge, addio;—addio, selve;—e fiumi,
addio!

(Act IV, sc. 2).

. . . . In guisa di Baccante
Gridando, e percotendosi il bel petto,
Lasciò cadersi in sul giacente corpo,
E giunse viso a viso, e bocca a bocca.
Poi sì come negli occhi avesse un fonte,
Innaffiar cominciò col pianto suo
Il colui freddo viso; e fu quell' acqua
Di cotanta virtù, ch' egli rivenne,
E, gli occhi aprendo, un doloroso oimè
Spinse dal petto interno

(Act V, end).

And so on.

Our poet has incurred the charge of having wrecked more than one feminine heart by such idyls as No. 12, where he holds out persuasions to a fresh charmer of the name of Francette. In point of fact this idyl, admired by Sainte-Beuve, is a poem by Navagero, "Ad Leucippam," of which Ronsard has produced a better translation.¹

Si tost qu'on mettra les troupeaux
Hors de l'estable en ces hameaux,
J'iray demain, belle Francette,
Au marché vendre un bouvillon:
J'acheteray de la sergette
Pour vous en faire un cotillon.
J'acheteray de beaux couteaux,
Une ceinture et des ciseaux,
Un peloton, une bourse
Pour vous donner: Mais cependant
Baisez moy donc, belle Francette,
Deux ou trois fois en attendant.
Venez querir demain au soir,
Quand la nuit prend son manteau noir,

Cum primum clauso pecus emittetur
ovili,
Urbs, mea Leucippe, cras adeunda
mihi est.
Huc ego venalemque agnum, cen-
tumque, Chariclo,
Ipsa mihi mater quæ dedit, ova fero.
Afferri tibi vis croceos, niveosque
cothurnos?
Anne colum, qualem nata Lyconis
habet?
Ipse feram quæ grata tibi. tu basia
iunge,
Gaudia Leucippe nec mihi grata nega.

¹ Ronsard's ode, "Si tost, ma doucette Ysabeau," is to be found in the edition of Blanchemain, II, 485. Laumonier, I observe, has already detected this borrowing by Vauquelin. This commentator writes of Ronsard's version: "Ronsard . . . remained a *poète campagnard* despite his prolonged sojourn at the Court and his admiration for the artificial *Arcadia* of Sannazaro. This 'humble' style, this sincere accent will scarcely be found any more after him. It is in vain that Vauquelin will try to preserve them in his idyls" (Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, p. 443).

Mes beaux presents, belle Francette, Cras, ubi nox aderit, odiosæ elabere
 Dans ce taillis, ou ce sera matri:
 Que vostre Mere, qui nous guette, Hasque inter corylos ad tua dona
 Jamais là ne nous trouvera. veni.¹

For Idyl 13 Travers refers us to an epigram by Archias in the *Anthology*.² In all likelihood, however, Vauquelin had some intermediate model. Idyl 14 ("Je fuyois par les herbettes") is in Tasso (p. 383, No. 188, "Sovra l'erbette e i fiori"). Idyl 15 ("Comme le cerf frappé d'un dard") is also from Tasso (p. 383, No. 189, "Qual cervo errando suole"). So, too, with Idyl 16 ("Pour à jamais seui me retraire"), which corresponds with a piece commencing "Fuggia di poggio in poggio" (p. 384, No. 191). Idyl 17 ("Au mois de May reverdoyant") Travers refers generally to the *Anthology*, but in reality the poem is taken from Tasso (p. 378, No. 141, "Giammai più dolce raggio").

Idyl 27 ("Dafnis faisoit à sa Musette") is a very remote copy of Tasso (p. 384, No. 199, "Ha gigli, e rose, ed ha rubini, ed oro"). In the *Lusus Bucolici* of Navagero we find the original of Idyl 28 ("Philin ce hestre et ce beau chesne"):

Et quercum, et silvam hanc ante omnia Thyrsis amabit:
 Et certo feret his annua dona die:
 Dum poterit memor esse, quod hac primùm ille sub umbrâ
 Ultima de carâ Leucade vota tulit.³

The original of Idyl 29 ("Pasteur, qui veut rallumer d'aventure") we find in one of those poems by Tasso in which there is a play upon the name "Laura" (p. 381, No. 165, "Pastor, che vai per questa notte oscura"). Idyl 30 is attributed by Travers to the beautiful lines by Theocritus on Helen, xviii. 87. He also gives as a source the *Anthology*, but I am strongly inclined to think that Vauquelin borrowed his theme from the first book of the hendecasyllables of Pontanus, where are some lines entitled "De Fanniae labellis":

Si quæris Venerem, Cupidinemque
 Dulcis Fanniolæ labella quæras:
 Hic sedem posuit suam Cupido,
 Hic lætas agit Venus choreas.⁴

¹ *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*, Venice, 1548, p. 26.

² *Anthologia Palatina*, cap. v, No. 59.

³ Version as given in an edition of the *Lusus* published with *Cymba Amoris* (attributed to Secundus), Utrecht, 1540.

⁴ *Pontani opera*, Bâle, 1556, IV, 3469.

The succeeding idyl, No. 31 ("Si tu ris, tu ris tousjours") is a rendering of some lines by Pontanus, "Ad Focillam" ("Si rides, Veneres Focilla rides"),¹ rendered in the manner of Tahureau.² Idyl 32 ("Tyrsis disoit, Forest, proche de ma maison") is to all appearance a sonnet written under the influence of Ronsard. In reality it is a reconstruction of a piece taken from the *Lusus Pastorales* of Flaminio ("Intonsi colles, et densæ in collibus umbræ").³

Idyl 35 is a *baiser*, the outcome of a study of Pontanus and Secundus.

Idyl 37 is a *baiser* in the vein of Tahureau. The central idea possibly was adopted from some lines by G. B. Amalteo, "Ad animum suum," concluding thus:

Ah ne iterum male caute, iterum ne basia quære:
Non etenim iam animus, sed novus ignis eris.⁴

Idyls 38 and 39 may also be attributed to a study of such models as Pontanus, Secundus, Tahureau, and Magny.

Idyl 41 is "imitated from the Greek" of Bion. Vauquelin would probably have read the version by Ronsard.⁵ Idyl 42 is also taken from the 4th idyl of Bion, numerous translations of which would be available.

I imagine that Vauquelin was rather proud of having constructed Idyl 48 ("Meline, belle pastourelle"). As a whole, it certainly has no counterpart; but if we take it asunder there is nothing for which there is not a parallel. Nérée urging Méline to meet her lover at the *fontaine Valombree* is Corisca, in the *Pastor Fido*, proposing to Amarillis that she should meet her lover; on the other hand, Méline "entrant en l'Avril de ses mois" is the Amarillis "nel vago april de' suoi verd' anni" of Tasso's *Convito di Pastori*, from which the conclusion of Vauquelin's idyl is borrowed.

For Idyl 50 ("Belle Angeline, donne moy") we are indebted to Tasso (p. 365, No. 17, "Bella Angioletta dalle vaghe piume"). Idyl

¹ Pontani opera, Bâle, 1556, IV, 3487.

² Tahureau appears to have steeped himself thoroughly in the hendecasyllables of Pontanus. Thus these lines by Vauquelin find a fairly close parallel in Tahureau, *Sonnets, odes et mignardises*, ed. Blanchemain, p. 118.

³ Gruterus, *Delitiae CC. Italorum Poetarum*, I, 1010.

⁴ Benedicti Lampridii, necnon Io. Bap. Amalthei carmina. Venetiis apud Gabrielem Iolium de Ferrariis, 1550. Fol. 84 recto.

⁵ Ed. Blanchemain, II, 360.

51 ("T'ayant dans ce bois rencontre") is also from Tasso (p. 380, No. 158, "Quando intesi il bel nome, io ben credea").

Idyl 53 ("Tyrsis regardant les beaux yeux") is from the same source (p. 365, No. 19, "Tirsi morir volea").¹ Idyl 54 is "imitated from the last of Theocritus."

Idyl 56, as Travers points out, is a version of the 11th ode of Anacreon. Idyl 58, consisting of acrostics, may be debited to our poet.² In Idyl 59 ("Nous sommes filles de village") we are, according to Lemerrier, introduced to the feminine neighbors and friends of the poet, those who should shortly accompany "Anne-Philis" to the altar. In reality, the poem is to be found in Tasso (p. 369, No. 56, "Le più belle zittelle del contado," and the succeeding piece, No. 57, "Non men candido il cor, che puro il viso").

In Idyl 66 we find the story of the precocious lover of the *Arcadia* and the *Aminta*. The idyl is chiefly a borrowing from the 7th prose passage of Sannazaro's pastoral, in which Sincero relates his early love.³

Las! quantesfois, voyant les chesnes
enlassez
Du lierre gravissant qui les tient
embrassez,

Tra li quali alguna volta trovan-
domi yo et mirando i fronzuti olmi
circundati dale pampinose vite, mi
corre amaramente nel' animo, con

¹ I may point out that in the *Musica Transalpina* (1588) there is a very literal English translation of Tasso's madrigal; see p. 67 of Bullen's *Shorter Elizabethan Poems*.

² In Idyl 76, Book I, we were given a specimen of the anagram. Thus does Vauquelin duly carry out the dictates of Du Bellay's *Deffence*, where half a chapter is devoted to the vindication of these puerilities.

³ As I have already suggested, there is always the likelihood that the French poets, in thus converting the prose of Sannazaro into verse, were following the example of some Italian poet. Laumonier in his *Ronsard, poète lyrique* (p. 457, footnote) has asserted that Ronsard's pretty sonnet, "Je mourrois de plaisir voyant par ces bocages" (ed. Blanchemain, I, 216), is "directly imitated" from this passage in the *Arcadia*. I do not altogether agree; for Saint-Gelais has a piece in *terza rima*, "O que d'ennui à mes yeux se presente" (ed. Blanchemain, II, 182) which bears a marked resemblance to Ronsard's sonnet. Evidently Ronsard's chief model was the Italian poet, unidentified up to the present, who supplied Saint-Gelais with his version. It is strange that Laumonier overlooked this parallel, for he was, I think, acquainted with the lines by Saint-Gelais. Professor Vianey has noted that Du Bellay in the 84th sonnet of his *Olive* has been guilty of a happy larceny from this same passage (*Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI^e siècle*, p. 90).—In this idyl Vauquelin assures his friend, Bernardin de Saint François, Bishop of Bayeux, that he fell to dreaming of a visionary nymph while still but a mere boy, "un garçonnet." Perhaps he did; but it is regrettable to record, for our poet's originality, that Ronsard, in his poems on the forest of Gastine and in the lines addressed to his friend Pierre Lescot (the architect of the Louvre), had already described, in almost identical fashion, how he had indulged in precocious musings of the same nature (ed. Blanchemain, II, 159, IV, 347, and VI, 188).

Et les ormes feuillus, ou les vignes
branchues

Ont naturellement leurs branches
etendues,

J'ay souhaité d'avoir un tel embrasse-
ment

Que ces arbres qui sans aucun senti-
ment.

Las! aussi quantesfois ay-je, triste
d'envie,

Desiré des Ramiers la bienheureuse vie,
Les voyant roucouler, murmurer leurs
amours,

Et tremousser de l'aile et faire mille tours,
Se baiser bec à bec, puis espoints de
Nature,

Après tant de caresse, assouvir leur
pointure.

Vraiment je leur disois, ô Colons bien-
heureux

D'avoir si doucement vos plaisirs
amoureux:

Puisse estre longuement longue la
Destinee,

Qui fait que vostre amours si douce
est demenee!

Soient longues vos amours, ô bien-
heureux Colons,

Soit long vostre desir et soient vos
plaisirs longs:

Afin que seul ici dans ces bois solitaires,
Seul je puisse estre ainsi plein de
longues miseres.

angoscia incomportabile, quanto sia
lo stato mio disforme da quello del'
insensati alberi, y quali dale care vite
amati, dimorano continuamente con
quelle in gratiosi abbrazzari: et yo per
tanto spacio di cielo, per tanta longin-
quità di terra, per tanti seni di mare,
dal mio disio dilungato, in continuo
dolore et lachrime mi consumo. O
quante volte e' mi ricorda che, vedendo
per li soli boschi li affectuosi colombi
con suave mormorio basiarsi et poy
andare desiderosi cercando lo amato
nido, quasi da invidia vinto ne piansi,
cotali parole dicendo: O felici voy,
ali quali senza suspecto alguno di
gelosia è concesso dormire et veghiare
con sicura pace! lungho sia il vostro
dilecto, lunghi siano y vostri amori:
acio che yo solo di dolore spectaculo
possa ad viventi rimanere (*Arcadia*, ed.
Scherillo, p. 121).

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MISCELLANEA HISPANICA

1. GLOSSES FROM RIPOLL MS 59

This MS, dating from the middle of the tenth century, is one of a pair of copies of Priscian, which were already at the convent of Santa Maria de Ripoll in the following century, since they are certainly the two codices of that author mentioned in the catalogue of 1047 A.D. Indeed we may be sure they were written in that monastery's scriptorium, and there they remained till removed with the other components of this collection to their present resting-place, the Barcelonese Archivo. These two codices and a third of the same epoch in the Escorial are plastered over with commentary and glosses, interlinear and marginal: they thus give us eloquent evidence as to the state of learning in mediaeval Catalonia. It would be a highly meritorious work for some mediaevalist to publish and digest these glosses: for many a time words, ideas, and points of view must necessarily crop out in such texts, that are not otherwise traceable.

The series of notes here published is derived from an appendix, consisting chiefly of lexicographical observations by the various scribes of the MS. At first we have glosses to words in Priscian's own text; then notes to Virgil (quite desultory) dealing with the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aen.* i-vi, thus testifying to a study of these portions of the poet's works; then we have a very remarkable phenomenon, nothing less than a Greco-Latin lexicon, showing that somebody at Ripoll was studying Greek, that is to say the monastery must have had at least elementary instruction in Greek as well as a fair school of Latin; finally a set of odds and ends gathered chiefly from Isidore, that great Spanish authority and general encyclopedist for the Middle Ages.

An examination of these glosses in their entirety convinces me that the Latin part rests on an archetype in some sort of semiuncial, and as there are very evident traces of Provençal influence, that semiuncial must have been of the usual or Roman type as distinguished from the Insular or Hiberno-Celtic. The Greek words show

the errors of transcription which characterize the cursive hands of about the year 700: so that the monastery must have had, or at least its monks must have had, access to a Greco-Latin glossary of the character here mentioned.

A page from this MS is to appear in one of the future numbers of *Palaeographia Iberica*. As for the abbreviations in the following word list, Gl.E. means the *Glossae Emendatae* of the famous *Corpus Glossariorum* of Goetz and Schoell, K the 1907 edition of Körting's *Lexikon*, ML the similar work by Meyer-Lübke (1911-), while Th.L.L. means the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

1. BRACA, glossed BELUA MARINA. This seems to be the βραγός of K 1540, ML 1264 (starred). A *belua marina* would be met with in the slime of *brevia*, or shoals near the shore.

2. BRADIUM for BRACHIUM occurs in: *Pelops. deus qui habuit bradium eburneum*. Here we have the Low Latin form; see K 1536, ML 1256.

3. BUTUS DICITUR INDOCTUS ET INSIPIENS. This occurs immediately after a note on IMBUTUS. Now it is perfectly possible that this is one of those artificial products of the mediaeval glossator's brain, in his effort to discover an origin or an etymology; but it is at least as likely that the word is genuine and stands in close relation to BUTIO, K 1668, ML 1424.

4. CANICULUS. DECURSIO AQUARUM. This is either a new word or a contamination of *canicula* with *canalis*.

5. CANTARE acts as an adjective in the gloss OPIPARE.CANTARE. Probably the word, if genuine, has something to do with *canère*; cf. another gloss CUNEBANT (i. e., *canebant*).SPLENDEBANT.

6. CAPIUM and GARRIUM occur in glosses on AUSPICIUM and AUGURIUM: specimens of the inventive ability of the grammarian referred to under No. 3.

7. CAPRIFOLIUM, 'white honeysuckle' occurs in: *Ligustra.caprifolium est.habens album florem*. Incorrectly starred K 1892, but not ML 1652; the word is catalogued in Th.L.L.

8. CARDUS as against CARDUUS (starred K 1933, but not by ML 1687; occurs in Th.L.L.): *Cardus herba quae crescit in tectis domorum grossa folia habens*.

9. CERASIA.POMA. Has a star K 2084, though not ML 1823; in Th.L.L.

10. CERVISA (in Th.L.L.) is a gloss to FERMENTO; ML 1830, starred K 2111.

11. CLIDAS is glossed CRATES. This is the source of the words so frequent in French and the Provençal group, listed by ML 1988; K 2258 starred.

12. CORDEX.QUI BONUM COR HABET. Harper's *Lexicon* could already quote *cordicitus*. *Cordax*, formed on the analogy of *audax*, is found in Th.L.L., with the note that it has a variant *cortex*.

13. CORNULA means 'a cornel berry' in the gloss: CORNA (K 2521). UULGO DICUNTUR CORNULAE. Whether this be a new word, or for *cornulea*, or to be identified with *cornulaca* (Th.L.L.) is uncertain.

14. CORVUS MARINUS (K 2550, ML 2269), is a gloss to MERGES.

15. CUNGRUM, glossed PISCIS, is Low Latin for CONGRUM (nom. *congrus* or *conger*). See ML 2144.1, and K 2418 starred; cf. Gl.E. *Congrus*.

16. CYTAREHATOR is a gloss to IOPAS. A new word, to be added to our future mediaeval Latin Lexicon.

17. DRACOGA is found in the phrase: DRACONTA. DRACOGA UEL HERBA. This word is probably due to a Low Latin (or Romance) form *draga* (whence 'dragon') over which was written *co* as a correction: the transcriber then made a very common error, that of copying both the mistake and the correction. As for the addition of *herba* to the comment, that is due to a contamination with *tragacanthum* or *tragacanth*; see Gl.E.

18. ERPITIAE. A new word. It is a note to RASTRI, and is related to the word variously spelled with or without *h* and with *e* or *i*, the source of Fr. *harce*, *harceler*, etc.; see K 4576, ML 4141.

19. EXCORICARE is found in this note: GLOBERE (i. e., *glubere*). CUTEM DETRAHERE. UEL EXCORICARE. Here we have a choice of theories: this maybe (and I think is) a new word, or it stands for *excoriare*, or again it is to be changed to *excorticare*. For this last cf. K 3377, ML 2988 (starred by both).

20. FICA (feminine) for 'a fruit' occurs in the comment: PALATE (i. e., *palathae* in Gl.E.). FICE CONFECTAE.

21. GALETRO is glossed GLUTTO. Seems to be new.

22. GARRIUM. See above, No. 6.

23. GIMALUM, a word for 'glass,' appears in this statement: VITRUM ENIM GIMALUM DICUNT. It must be connected with Gl.E. HYALINUM. *g* here has the palatal value, elsewhere in this MS written *i* (in IENERE).

24. HIPFITARE. OSCITARE. Same note recorded by Gl.E.

25. IGNOMONIA is explained as NON GLORIA. Another invention.

26. LATTAS in the gloss: ASSERES. PALI UEL PAXILLI SEU LAPILLI IDEST PETRE MINUTE SIUE LATTAS; K 5468, ML 4933.

27. LEURARIUS, as a gloss to LEPOS, furnishes us the etymon for French *lévrier*, etc.; K 5533, ML 4988.

28. LICISCA, equated with CATULA in one note and spelled LICISTA in another, with the explanation *Licista canicula ex lupa et cane*, is already in classical Latin: see Dictionaries; K 5765 (starred).

29. LINCIOLOM is the Low Latin form for LINCIOLOM, and appears in this codex in explanation of PEPLUM; K 5629, ML 5070.

30. LUSTRUM is found for ROSTRUM (also RUSTRUM) in this note: *Proboscida. lustrum elefanti dicunt*. Perhaps the verb *lustrare* in the sense of 'survey,' 'examine' may have influenced the word; note, however, that Gl.E. has ROSTRAT ἐπιζητεῖ.

31. MAIOR in the sense of *maximus* occurs in this gloss: *Draco maior est cunclorum serpentium*.

32. MANSIO is explained (with the addition of *parua*) as TUGURIUM. See K 5898, ML 5311; this meaning is confined to the Franco-Provençal territory.

33. MANTILE furnishes another bit of evidence of Provençal influence occurring in: *Gausape.mantile quod ponitur in mensa* (elsewhere used for 'handkerchief'). ML 5325.1, K 5915 (starred).

34. MERCATA, neuter, instead of *mercatus*: TRINUNDINUM.TRIA MERCATA; cf. K 6102, ML 5516.

35. Interest in the Greeks, and the possible source of the Greek glosses are disclosed in the following: *Minorca et Maiorca.insulae iuxta Hispaniam. ubi pars Grecorum est*.

36. A very important word, MUSARE, turns up in the following remark: *Triuium est.ubi multae viae conueniunt.ibi solebant rustici pastores musare*. See K 6411 (starred).

37. NOMINIA dicitur gloria. Another invention.

38. PALPO furnishes a puzzle in this observation: PALPO.AUICULA; and on another occasion we are told that it is TALNA, for which our scribe then proposes to read *talpa*. Perhaps we have in the latter case the intermediate form between TALPA and Italian *topo*. In the former note, PALPO is a mistake for PAPILIO.

39. More examples of new and perhaps artificial forms are furnished by a pair of glosses in which appear PENISSIME, PENITISSIMA, and PROPISSIME.

40. RARISCUS appears as the exegesis to LAMPOS. A new word? Or *coruscus*? We may also suppose an error for *asteriscus*.

41. RAUSETA (Provençal influence again manifest) is the gloss to CARECTA: K 7815.

42. RUMICE is offered in explanation of TRIBULE (cf. K 8199). RUMICA is already, in GLE., the equivalent of κόκκυξ.

43. SALSITIA, the gloss to LUCANA, is the source of Fr. *saucisse*, etc.; K 8298.

44. SAURA (Provençal again) is equated with FULUA; K 8391.

45. SIRGUBA.CISTERNA UETUS creates difficulty. I think *sirguba* must be connected with *gurgus* and stand in close ancestral relation with Italian *ser-* or *sor-gozzone*; K 4401.

46. SOCCUS as gloss to UOMIS is welcome as explaining *souche*, etc. Discussed by K 8833.2.

47. SPICOR in the etymology of *circumspicor* is another evidence of the tendency to etymologize à la *Ménage*.

48. SUPPEDIUM explained as AUXILIUM may be a genuine new word.

49. TEMPLA glossed as equivalent to TEMPORA is the long-sought Low Latin word starred by K 9432.

50. TRICABILIS, with its gloss MOROSUS, seems to give us another *new* word. Here MOROSUS must have the first syllable short; being derived from *mōra*, not *mōres*: the *tricae* stop and delay people.

51. VARIOLA, gloss to UARIX, removes the star from K 10004.

52. UADIO as the equivalent of PIGNORE gives us another case of *di* for the modern English *j*-sound; and the word also enables one to remove the star from K 10329 (*wadjan*).

2. CODEX MATRITENSIS V 191

This MS of the twelfth century (its new number is 7514) is according to its back-title a copy of the Glosses of Isidore, but is in reality the dictionary of Papias. It is only mentioned by Von Hartel-Loewe, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis*, tom. I, p. 447. An earlier numbering is *Caj. I. Ord. 3^a. Num. 33*, with the additional note *Tiene 114*; bound in green. These facts, together with the peculiar yellow parchment, make it probable that it was part of the collection brought to Spain by Don Felipe V, and that it is from Messina. This is the oldest copy of Papias that I have ever seen, and deserves the attention of any future editor of that Lexicon.

At the close, in a hand saec. XIII, is an interesting note in line with that series of labeling statements so current in antiquity and not yet out of current usage today: we remember *Punica fides*, how the Greeks and Gauls were to the Romans a set of liars, etc. This series resumes the traditions and current beliefs of the mediaeval epoch in a way worth recording.

De uiciis gentium. Inuidia Iudeorum. perfidia persarum. Astucia egiptorum. fallacia grecorum. Seucia saracenorum. Leuitas caldeorum. Varietas affrorum. Gula gallorum. Vana gloria Longobardorum. crudelitas hunorum. Inmundicia suevorum. Ferocitas francorum. Stulticia saxonum. Duricia pictorum. Luxuria guascanorum. Libido scottorum. Vinolencia hispanorum. Ira britannorum. Spureicia selauorum. Rapacitas normannorum.

De uirtutibus gentium. Hebreorum prudentia. Persarum stabilitas. Egiptiorum sollertia. Grecorum sapientia. Romanorum grauitas. Caldeorum sagacitas. Affrorum ingenium. Gallorum firmitas. Francorum fortitudo. Saxonum instancia. Guascanorum agilitas. Scottorum fidelitas. Hispanorum argutia. Britannorum hospitalitas. Normannorum communia. Grecus ante causam. Francus in causam. Romanus post causam. Francus grau us (?) Affer uersipellis. Tullius marcus

dixit.callidus affer eris.semper romane disertus.semper galle piger.semper hiberne celer.

Isti fuerunt christi predicatorum et discipuli.predicatorum fidei.et doctores gentium.qui ad predicandum missi has sortes proprias acceperunt. Petrus romam. Andreas albaniam. Jacobus hispaniam. Johannes asiam. Thomas indiam. Mattheus macedoniam. Philippus galliam. Bartholomeus licaoniam. Simon zelotes egiptum. Mathias iudeam. Jacobus frater domini. ierosalem. Judas frater iacobi mesopotamiam. Paulo apostolo cum ceteris apostolis nulla sors propria data est (?) quia in omnibus magister est et predicator electus.

(Once or twice the reading is uncertain, since the note extends to the very tight binding and is somewhat blurred.)

3. CODEX MATRITENSIS M 62 (1569), *saec. XIII ineunt.*

This MS is an oblong copy of Ovid, on the fly-leaf of which is a note in Catalan, worth recording as showing first of all the provenance of the MS, and in the next place, as exhibiting a very early attempt at a system of Romance grammar:

Nominatiuus el maestre.gen.t del maestre. Datiius.al maestr(e). Accusatiuus lo maestre. Vocatiuus.o tu maestre. Ablatiuus ablo maestre.

JOHN M. BURNAM

THE INFLUENCE OF SENECA'S TRAGEDIES ON FER-
REIRA'S *CASTRO* AND BERMÚDEZ' *NISE LASTI-
MOSA* AND *NISE LAUREADA*

It is a well-known fact that the ten tragedies of Seneca¹ were looked upon as models for tragedy in the early Renaissance, and that the first Renaissance tragedy, Mussato's *Ecerinis* (ca. 1280), was a definite imitation of Seneca, particularly of *Thyestes*. However, it is to the credit of Giangiorgio Trissino, the creator of Italian tragedy, that he chose Sophocles and Euripides rather than Seneca as models in composing his *Sofonisba* in 1515. His use of *versi sciolti* of eleven syllables as the nearest approach to the Greek iambic trimeter catalectic, with occasional lines of seven syllables, was of the greatest importance in the development of Italian tragedy.

The tragedies of Seneca were not only known in Spain, but had been translated into Castilian by the beginning of the fifteenth century.² The Marqués de Santillana refers to them in the introduction to his *Comedieta de Ponça* and proves in his *Inferno de los Enamorados* that he had read *Phaedra*.³ There is no evidence, however, that the study of Seneca called forth any imitations, either in Latin or in Castilian, at this early period. The plays were chiefly interesting to the scholars of the time because of the philosophy which they were thought to contain, rather than as models of tragedy.

It is not probable that Greek tragedy was known in Spain outside of a restricted circle of scholars in the first half of the sixteenth century. Fernán Pérez de Oliva, rector of the University of Salamanca, made a free translation in prose of the *Electra* of Sophocles, published in 1528 with the title *La Venganza de Agamemnon*, and also a version of Euripides' *Hecuba* with the title *Hecuba triste*, which was not published until 1586.⁴ In 1543, Boscan translated one of the

¹ It is unnecessary to consider here the question of authorship of these plays. In the sixteenth century they were all attributed to Seneca.

² For some account of the early Castilian translations of Seneca, see Mario Schiff, *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*, Paris, 1905, p. 130.

³ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, V, CXXX.

⁴ Salvá, *Catálogo*, I, 510. Both translations may be read in Sedano's *Parnaso español*, VI.

plays of Euripides, but his version was not published. Pedro Simon Abril, the translator of Terence, is said to have translated the *Pluto* of Aristophanes and the *Medea* of Euripides in 1570.

The study of classical tragedy seems to have had little effect upon the development of the Spanish drama in the early part of the century. In Micael de Carvajal's *Josefina*, the only evidence of imitation of the classics is in the appearance of a chorus of *Tres doncellas* at the end of each act.¹ Not one of the *mil tragedias*, in which the Sevillian Juan Malara is said by Juan de la Cueva to have adapted classical tragedy to modern requirements, has been preserved, so that it is difficult to determine his influence on the drama. Conscious imitation of ancient tragedy is most clearly seen in the plays composed in Latin and Castilian which were represented in the Jesuit schools and convents.² It is surprising, however, in view of the interest shown throughout Europe in the revival of Greek and Latin studies, that not a single tragedy is known to have been composed in Spain on definitely classical lines until 1577, the date of publication of the *Primeras tragedias españolas* of Bermúdez, and even in this case, the inspiration came from Portugal.

The tragedies of Seneca were known in Portugal at least as early as 1453;³ but classical tragedy was not imitated until after the triumph of the Italian School under the leadership of Sá de Miranda who, on his return from Italy in 1526, completely changed the course of Portuguese literature. Shortly afterward, Coimbra became the center of classical influence, chiefly owing to the famous Scotch humanist, George Buchanan, who not only encouraged the students to represent the plays of Seneca and Euripides, but also showed his interest in the drama by composing two tragedies, *Jephthes* and *Joannes Baptista*, which were represented at Coimbra in 1542. It is to these college performances that we owe Ferreira's *Castro*, the first Portuguese tragedy composed according to classical models.

Antonio Ferreira was born at Lisbon in 1528 and attended the University of Coimbra, where his interest in the classics was stimulated by the celebrated scholar, Diogo de Teive. Besides two

¹ *La Josefina* was probably composed about 1535. It was republished by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles, Madrid, 1870.

² Ticknor, *Historia de la literatura española*, II, 543-50; note by Gayangos.

³ Theophilo Braga, *Historia do Theatro portuguez*, II, 5.

comedies, *Bristo* and *Cioso*, based upon classical and Italian comedy, he wrote a considerable amount of verse in the Italian manner, which entitled him to rank second only to Sâ de Miranda among the poets of his time. His chief claim to distinction, however, lies in his having composed not only the first, but also the finest tragedy in the Portuguese language. In writing his tragedy, he did not seek his material in Livy, as was so often done in Italy, but ventured for the first time in Europe of the sixteenth century to compose a play based upon the history of his own country. The chronicles told the sad story of Inez de Castro who suffered cruel death because of her love for the Infante Pedro, and who *despois de ser morta, foi Rainha*, and Camoens, who immortalized the story in the third canto of *Os Lusíadas*, refers to the living tradition in a superb stanza of his epic.¹

The play was written between the years 1553 and 1567, when Ferreira relinquished his duties as professor of law at Coimbra to assume the position of judge of the Court of Appeal at Lisbon, and it was performed by the university students under the personal direction of the author. The interest of the performance was doubtless enhanced by the proximity of the places described in the play. From the hill overlooking the *saudosos campos* of the Mondego, the students could see the old Santa Clara Convent where Inez de Castro was interred before that solemn translation to the cathedral of Alcobaça, and also the lovely Quinta das Lagrimas and the tall cypress trees sheltering the Fonte dos Amores, where the lovers were wont to meet, and where, two hundred years before, Inez was put to death by the hand of assassins.

Ferreira died of the plague at Lisbon in 1569. His tragedy was not published until 1587, although it had circulated freely in manuscript before that time. It appeared in a second edition, *novamente acrescentada*, in 1598.² The first edition of the play is so exceedingly rare that it is impossible to determine what constitute the changes made in the second edition.

¹ Canto III, cxxxv. Not less than ten Portuguese plays are known which are derived from this story, and four Spanish plays, the best known of which is Vélez de Guevara's *Reinar después de morir*.

² Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos and Theophilo Braga in *Gröber's Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 312. Ferreira's son states in the prologue to the *Poemas lusitanos*, 1598, that the play was composed before 1558, but this date is not considered certain. It was translated into English by Musgrave, in 1826.

✓ The critics are unanimous in considering Ferreira's *Castro* an imitation of Greek tragedy. Theophilo Braga, who has studied the play more carefully than anyone else, says emphatically: "Pela *Castro*, conhece-se que Ferreira imitava directamente as formas gregas, sem recorrer a Seneca, como então se usava na Europa."¹ I shall attempt to show later that a considerable part of the play, especially in the choral odes, is derived from Seneca, but it must be ✓ admitted that the spirit of the play more closely resembles Greek than Latin tragedy. The style is dignified and elevated, but rarely stilted. There is less declamation and more poetry than in Seneca. Nothing could be more charming than the opening dialogue between Inez and her attendant. Seneca was incapable of developing a conversation with such unaffected simplicity, nor could he have created a heroine whose only claim to pity was her weakness and timid womanliness. The horrors in which Seneca gloated are absent. The death of Inez occurs behind the scene while the chorus looks on, as in ✓ Euripides' *Medea*. Whether it was due to Ferreira's study of the Greek drama or to his innate good taste, the play is marked by a restraint which is truly refreshing to anyone who has waded through the bloodshed and carnage which one finds in Seneca, Argensola, Virués, and the Italian tragedies composed after the *Orbecche* of Giraldi Cinthio. M X

Ferreira's use of the chorus seems to be a compromise between ✓ the manner of Seneca and that of Greek tragedy. Its function is not merely to fill in the intermissions with choral songs, as in Seneca, but also to act as sympathetic advisers to the chief characters. Inez is usually accompanied by a band of maidens of Coimbra who are deeply interested in the fate of the heroine, and who bitterly reproach the king in the fourth act for his weakness in consenting to her death, while the prince is also attended by a chorus of knights who advise ✓ him to obey his father's wishes. This active participation of the chorus in the action is Greek rather than Senecan, and yet it does not appear in the fifth act, in the manner of Seneca, nor does it appear in the second act, except at the end. With the exception of the laments for the death of Inez at the close of the fourth act, probably an imitation of the Greek *commus*, the choral songs are only remotely

¹ *Manual da Historia da Litteratura portugueza*, Oporto, 1875, p. 277.

connected with the subject of the play. Some of the choral odes are composed in strophic form, in the manner of the Greeks, while others are written in unrimed lines.

Ferreira probably imitated Trissino in using *verso solto* of eleven syllables with occasional lines of seven syllables throughout the play, except in the lyric portions. Also to Trissino's influence may be ascribed his use of the *canzone* strophe in the first and second chorus at the end of the first act. The first chorus of the second and third acts is composed of nine and eight sapphic stanzas or strophes, respectively, of four lines each, the last line of each strophe being an adonic. This meter was used by Seneca in *Medea*, 579-606.¹ In the second chorus of the second and third acts, he used *verso solto* of seven syllables. The first chorus of the fourth act is composed of six *sestinas* with *ripresa*. The second is composed of thirty-eight lines of sapphics with adonics in the twenty-fourth and last lines. This also may have been taken from Seneca. In *Troades*, 814-60, we find a series of sapphics broken up into stanzas of irregular length by the insertion of three adonics, and in the same play, ll. 1009-55, the chorus contains one adonic.

A study of the play will show that Ferreira was far more indebted to Seneca in the content than in the form. The first act opens with an invocation to the sun in lyric form, addressed by Inez to her maidens. It may have been suggested by the famous hymn to Phoebus in Euripides' *Ion* or by Seneca's *Agamemnon*, 310-25. The song is charming in its simplicity and serves as a keynote to the first half of the first act. The exposition, which is conducted in the manner of Sophocles rather than Seneca, and recalls the opening scene of Trissino's *Sofonisba*, consists of a dialogue between Dona Inez and her attendant. The unfortunate girl appears that day more hopeful of the future than ever before, yet there is an undefined sadness in her heart, and tears spring to her eyes. The poet makes use of the situation to inform the spectators of the love of the prince for Inez and the obstacles to their complete happiness. The part played by the attendant (*Ama*) is, of course, frequent in classical tragedy. Stichomythia, or conversation in alternate lines, which was frequently

Señor Menéndez y Pelayo in his work *Horacio en España*, Madrid, 1885, II, 304, attributes these meters to imitation of Horace.

used on the Attic stage and by Seneca, is employed here as elsewhere in the play when the speakers are engaged in animated discussion. The act ends with a dialogue between the prince and his secretary, in which the latter declares the dangers to which the country is exposed if he persists in his affection for Inez. The prince replies rather rhetorically:

Não cuidem que me posso apartar donde
Estou todo, onde vivo: que primeiro
A terra subirá onde os Ceos andam,
O mar abraçará os Ceos, e terra,
O fogo será frio, o Sol escuro,
A Lua dará dia, e todo Mundo
Andará ao contrario de sua ordem
Que eu, ó Castro, te deixe, ou nisso cuide.¹

Extravagant figures of this kind are common in Seneca. Compare *Thyestes*, 476 ff.; *Octavia*, 222-24; *Phaedra*, 568-73, and *Herc. Oet.*, 1583 ff. These arguments only serve to strengthen the resolution of the Infante, and he angrily bids his secretary to retire.

The first chorus sings of the beneficent power of Love, apparently inspired by Seneca's *Phaedra*, 461-75 and 574-75. The second chorus laments the evil which Love has caused in the world, and concludes with a reference to the fatal passion of the prince. The following stanzas are paraphrased from *Phaedra*, 188-203:

Antes cégo Tyranno
Dos poetas fingido,
Cruel desejo, e engano
Deos de vam gente, de ocio só nascido.
Geral estrago, e dano
Da gloriosa fama,
Com sua sêta, e chamma
Tirando a toda parte
Ardendo fica Apollo, ardendo Marte.
Vay pelos ares voando;
Arde cá toda a terra,
E d'aljaba soando
O tiro empece mais, quanto o mais erra.
Tem por gloria yr juntando

¹ I have used the version of *Castro* contained in *Poemas lusitanos do Dputor Antonio Ferreira*, Lisbon, 1771.

Estados diferentes:
Os mais convenientes
A Amor, e iguaes aparta.
Nunca de sangue, e lagrymas se farta.

The third stanza is also a paraphrase of *Phaedra*:

No tenro, e casto peito
Da moça vergonhosa,
Tempo esperando, e geito,
Entra com força branda, ou furiosa.
O fogo já desfeito
Da cinza outra vez cria,
No frio sangue, e fria
Neve outra vez se acende.
Dos olhos no meo d'alma o rayo prende.

Compare *Phaedra*, 290-93:

iuvenum feroces
concitat flammas senibusque fessis
rursus extinctos revocat calores,
virginum ignoto ferit igne pectus.¹

The fifth stanza is a close translation from *Phaedra*:

Quem a ferrada maça
Ao grande Alcides toma?
E quer que assi aos pés jaça
Da moça, feito moça quem liões doma?
Quem da espantosa caça
Os despojos famosos
Lhe converte em mimosos
Trajos de Dama, e o uso
Das duras mãos lhe põem no brando fuso?

Compare *Phaedra*, 317-24:

natus Alcmena posuit pharetras
et minax vasti spolium leonis,
passus aptari digitis zmaragdos
et dari legem rudibus capillis;
crura distincto religavit auro,
luteo plantas cohibente socco;
et manu, clavam modo qua gerebat,
fila deduxit properante fuso.

¹ I have used Leo's edition of Seneca, Berlin, 1878.

The first four lines of the sixth stanza are also derived from *Phaëdra*:

Jupiter transformado
Em tam varias figuras,
Deixando desprezado
O Ceo, quam baixo o mostram mil pinturas!

Compare *Phaëdra*, 299-300:

induit formas quotiens minores
ipse qui caelum nebulasque fecit.

The last two stanzas tell of the ills which befell Troy and Spain because of Love, and praise the man who can defend himself against the wiles of the cruel Cupid.

In the second act the king praises clemency in rulers and declares that it is better for a monarch to govern himself than the whole world. This monologue is distinctly in the Senecan manner, and was probably suggested by a passage in *Hercules Furens*, 739-46. Coelho and Pacheco urge the king to consent to the death of Inez as the sole means of insuring peace to his kingdom, and Afonso is finally persuaded by their arguments. The dialogue resembles the scene in the *Troades* in which Pyrrhus seeks to gain Agamemnon's consent to the death of Polyxena. The king's soliloquy which follows, extolling the life of the poor farmer who lives happily in his fields, expresses an idea frequently repeated by Seneca, but seems more closely related to the *Beatus ille* of Horace, so dear to the poets of the Renaissance. The second, third, fourth, and fifth stanzas of the first chorus of the second act are derived from Seneca's *Agamemnon*, 102-107; 57-61; 90-96, and 72-76, respectively.¹

At the opening of the third act, Inez appears, her heart already filled with a presentiment of her fate, and addresses her children in words which recall Andromache's farewell to Astyanax in *Troades*, 770-85. She relates a terrible dream which she has had to her attendant, who tries to calm her fears. The dream of impending danger is very frequently found in classical and Renaissance tragedy, and may have been suggested in this case by Andromache's dream

¹ Señor Menéndez y Pelayo in his admirable work *Horacio en España*, II, 43, mentions this chorus as an imitation of Horace's *Regum timendorum in proprios greges*, first ode of the third book. Ferreira's familiarity with Horace cannot be questioned, but a comparison of the texts shows a closer resemblance to Seneca.

in *Troades*, 437 ff. The chorus then enters, bringing the news that Inez has been condemned to death. She exclaims that her forebodings have been realized and calls upon the maidens of the chorus to protect her. The choral song which follows on the brevity of human life resembles a chorus in *Hercules Furens*, 174-91, but Seneca's Stoical philosophy has here a decided Christian coloring.

In the fourth act, Inez, accompanied by the chorus, pleads with the king for her life, affirming her innocence and imploring mercy for the sake of the Infante and her children. In spite of the opposition of Coelho and Pacheco, her eloquent appeal enlists the king's sympathy and he commands that her death sentence be revoked. After Inez retires, the ministers reproach the king for his weakness, and present their arguments so convincingly that he bids them do their will. The chorus then charges the king with cruelty and injustice. He weakly tries to justify himself, and finally declares:

Affronta-se minha alma. O quem pudéra
Desfazer o que he feito!

This scene is far from convincing. The vacillating course of the king in respect to the murder is historical, but it seems somewhat absurd for him to repent of his reluctant consent, and yet make no effort to prevent the execution of his order. The death of Inez is not represented *coram populo*, and we only know that the murder is accomplished by the laments of the chorus which immediately follow. The following lines of the second chorus are borrowed from the description of the dominion of Love in *Phaedra*.

Assi a região, que vê nascer o Sol,
Como a região, onde o Sol se esconde,
Assi aquella, que ao fervente Cancro,
Como aquell'outra, que á fria mór Ursa
Estão sogeitas, esta mágoa chorem.

Compare *Phaedra*, 285-90:

quaeque nascentem videt ora solem,
quaeque ad Hesperias iacet ora metas,
si qua ferventi subiecta cancro,
si qua Parrhasiae glacialis ursae
semper errantes patitur colonos,
novit hos aestus.

In the fifth act, the prince laments the absence of Inez and a messenger enters bringing the sad news. After the usual suspense, he tells how Inez has been murdered by the ministers of his father:

Arrancando as espadas se vão a ella
 Traspassando-lh'os peitos cruelmente;
 Abraçada c'os filhos a matáram,
 Que inda ficáram tintos do seu sangue.

This resembles somewhat the account of the messenger in *Troades* who relates the death of Polyxena. The prince, in an outburst of grief, mourns her death in rather rhetorical lines and swears vengeance upon his father, and also upon those who had committed the deed.

It has been frequently noted that the play has certain defects and that Ferreira did not take full advantage of the opportunities which the subject afforded him. The father and son do not appear together on the stage. The struggle between love and duty in the heart of the prince is not fully developed. There is too much declamation, and the language of the characters is not sufficiently differentiated. It is to the author's credit, however, that he did not conceive of tragedy as merely a succession of horrible scenes, and that his borrowings from Seneca are confined, for the most part, to the lyrics, in which the Latin dramatist alone shows capacity for real poetry. In spite of the defects, whoever reads the play must agree with Creizenach that it is far superior to the French, English, and Italian tragedies composed at the same period.¹

With the exception of the *Elisa Dido* of Virués, which was not published until 1609, the only Spanish tragedies of the sixteenth century based definitely on classical models are *Nise lastimosa* and *Nise laureada*, published at Madrid in 1577 with the title *Primeras tragedias españolas de Antonio de Silva*.² It is well known that the name Antonio de Silva is a pseudonym, and that their author was Gerónimo Bermúdez who composed the plays while reader in theology at the University of Salamanca. They were completed by the year 1575, the date of the dedication to the Count of Lemos. Bermúdez, who was born about the year 1530 in the province of Galicia, spent some

¹ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, III, 475.

² Both of these plays were republished by Sedano in *Parnaso español*, VI, and by Ochoa, *Tesoro del teatro español*, I.

time in Portugal, and, during his residence there, read Ferreira's play in manuscript and translated it almost line for line, giving it the new title, *Nise lastimosa*, an anagram of Ines. A comparison of the Spanish version with the Portuguese original is of some interest, since it is evident that some of the changes introduced by Bermúdez are derived from Seneca.¹

The Spanish version follows closely the account given in the Portuguese text and adds no new incidents. The rôle of the chorus is restricted and its function is confined in the main to the singing of choral odes in the intermissions. Bermúdez wisely omitted the scene at the close of the fourth act of Ferreira's play in which the chorus reproaches the king for his weakness in consenting to the death of Inez. The dialogue is more diffuse in certain parts and the general tone is more didactic. A few changes were made in the arrangement of scenes. The charming song and pathetic dialogue between Inez and her attendant with which the Portuguese play begins, are replaced by a monologue of the prince, lamenting the absence of his lady. Martínez de la Rosa² suggested that the change was made in order to make clear at the outset why the prince did not intervene to save Inez; but if verisimilitude was gained thereby, the new version lost a charming scene.

Bermúdez omitted entirely the praise of Love contained in the first chorus of Ferreira's first act, doubtless considering such sentiments unsuited to a student of theology. He translated freely Ferreira's second chorus as his first chorus, but added certain lines taken from Seneca. The opening lines are a paraphrase of a passage in *Phaedra*:

Este Cupido, de poetas Marte,
hijo del alma Venus, engendrada
en los amargos senos de Neptuno,
¡ó con quanta crueza y osadfa
sus flechas contra todo el mundo arroja!

¹ The comparison between the versions of Ferreira and Bermúdez must necessarily be uncertain, since the latter probably used the version of *Castro* published in 1587, of which not a single copy is known to exist. The discovery of a copy of this first edition might show that some of the changes which seem to be due to Bermúdez were found in the earlier version.

² Quoted by Braga, *Historia do Theatro portuguez*, II, 99.

Compare *Phaëdra*, 274-78:

Diva non miti generata ponto,
quam vocat matrem geminus Cupido,
impotens flammis simul et sagittis,
iste lascivus puer et renidens
tela quam certo moderatur arcu!

The five lines which follow, describing the extent of the dominion of Love, are borrowed from *Phaëdra*, 285-90, and were used by Ferreira in the last act of his play. He mentions Apollo among the gods who had fallen victims to the wiles of Cupid:

¡Apolo rojo, quién te dió cayado,
con pastoril zurron por atavío,
y rústica majada por albergó?

Compare *Phaëdra*, 296-98:

Thessali Phoebus pecoris magister
egit armentum positoque plectro
impari tauros calamo vocavit.

The rest of the chorus agrees with the Portuguese text.

The second chorus of Bermúdez is derived from the same chorus of *Phaëdra*, 331-45. It is an evidence of good taste on the part of Ferreira that he did not translate this absurd passage, which describes the pangs of love suffered by various animals.

Tambien el mar sagrado
se abrasa en este fuego:
tambien allá Neptuno
por Menalipe andubo,
y por Medusa ardiendo.
Tambien las Ninfas suelen
en el humido abismo
de sus cristales frios
arder en estas llamas;
tambien las voladoras
y las músicas aves,
y aquella sobre todas
de Jupiter amiga,
no pueden con sus alas
huir de amor, que tiene
las suyas más ligeras:
¡Qué guerras, qué batallas

por sus amores hacen
 los toros! ¡Qué brabeza
 los mansos ciervos muestran!
 ¡Pues los leones bravos
 y los crueles tigres,
 heridos de esta yerba,
 ¡qué mansos que parecen!

In a few other minor respects, the Spanish version differs from the Portuguese, but they are of little consequence. No line by line comparison, however, can give an adequate idea of the immense superiority of Ferreira's version over that of his translator. The poetry and grace of the original are replaced by platitudes and verbiage. The work of the scholar, derived from his love for the classics, is nearly always pleasing but when the humanist puts on cassock and cowl, the result is less attractive.

Nise laureada, also published in 1577, is a continuation of *Nise lastimosa*. Bermúdez showed himself in the first play capable of writing fairly smooth verse, not a difficult task when one considers the fidelity with which he followed his original and the kinship between Spanish and Portuguese, but he displays his shortcomings as a dramatist in the second play in which he was obliged to rely upon himself for inspiration. The theme is the disinterment and coronation of Inés de Castro immediately after Pedro's accession to the throne, and the horrible death which he inflicted upon her murderers. In the development of his material, he deviated from the historical account, since royal honors were not accorded Inés until 1361, four years after Pedro became king. This was done in order to give the play the appearance of unity of time which, however, is not strictly observed. The chief objection to the play is that it has no dramatic interest. The fate of the murderers is a foregone conclusion, and each act is filled up with wearisome monologues and interminable dialogues until the *exitus horribilis* at the close. Unlike most of the dramatists of the period, he does not attempt to enlist our sympathy in behalf of the victims, and the reader merely breathes a deep sigh of relief when they finally meet their death.

In form, the play is a compromise between the manner of Seneca and of Greek tragedy. It is divided into five acts, and the chorus

not only serves to fill in the intermissions with choral songs, but also declaims within the acts and occasionally engages in dialogue with the chief characters. The choral songs are only remotely connected with the action. The classical nurse appears as the attendant of the three children of Inés and Pedro. The characters all speak in the same bombastic fashion, with frequent allusions to Greek mythology and biblical story. The perverse tendency to preaching and moralizing, of which evidence is given in *Nise lastimosa*, is here carried to excess, and the ever recurring line of the chorus:

Conviértete á tu Dios, ó mundo ciego,

shows that the play has a definite moral purpose. The restraint and simplicity, which constitute the chief charm of Ferreira's work, are entirely lacking.

I have found but little evidence of direct translation from Seneca in *Nise laureada*, but a study of the play shows that it is wholly in the Senecan manner. The wearisome monologues, long dialogues in which the action is stationary, lack of restraint in the expression of grief and anger, far-fetched figures of speech, sententiousness, love of moralizing, the stoicism of the prisoners in the face of death, and the atrocious murders committed on the stage, all point to a close study of the Latin dramatist. The author shows himself as incapable as Seneca of expressing himself in simple, natural language.

The first act opens with the return of Pedro as king to Coimbra, the city which awakens so many sad memories in his heart. The scene afforded an excellent opportunity for dramatic treatment, but his monologue is a farrago of commonplaces and extravagant rhetorical figures. The bishop who meets him expatiates on the theme that this world is merely a preparation for eternal life, and recounts the creation and fall of man and the blessings which a ruler may bring to his people. The king is non-committal as to his intentions, but breaks out in laments when he sees his children and the nurse who had witnessed the death of Inés. His chamberlain reproaches him for his excessive grief and urges temperate action, which the king quite naturally characterizes as "pesado aviso de filosofia."

In the second act, the constable mourns the dangers which threaten Portugal, and after a choral song, the king engages in an

animated discussion with the Spanish ambassador and with the constable who opposes the exchange of three fugitives from Spain in order that the murderers of Inés be delivered into the hands of Pedro. The king exclaims in Senecan style that he would rather die than give up his plan of vengeance. The constable retaliates by extolling virtue in the most pedantic fashion and urges clemency. The king will not listen to reason, and declares that he will not only put the murderers to death, but that the honors due a queen must be accorded to the body of Inés.

In the third act, the chamberlain and chorus announce that the day for the coronation of Inés has arrived and the king expresses in rhetorical fashion his grief for the loss of his wife, thus leading up to the coronation scene, in which the constable swears allegiance to the corpse. Pedro's mourning is too pretentious to awaken much sympathy either for Inés or himself. One realizes even better the difference between declamatory rhetoric and real poetry when we compare the scene with this superb stanza of Camoens:¹

Assi como a bonina, que cortada
Antes do tempo foi, candida e bella,
Sendo das mãos lascivas maltratada
Da menina, que a trouxe na capella,
O cheiro traz perdido e a cor murchada
Tal está morta a pallida donzella,
Seccas do rosto as rosas, e perdida
A branca e viva cor, co'a doce vida.

The act closes with an epithalamium, sung by the chorus, and perhaps suggested by Seneca's *Medea*, 56 ff.

At the opening of the fourth act, Coello and González appear in prison. The dialogue is even more bombastic and ridiculous than elsewhere. González addresses the jailer as "Plutónico ministro," and the latter shows his acquaintance with the classics by thus apostrophizing the prisoners:

¿ De qué Caúcaso monte acá salistes ?
¿ De qué nevada Scitia habeis venido ?
¿ Qué Hircanas tigres os han dado leche ?

¹ Os *Lusiadas*, Canto III, cxxxiv.

The executioner and jailer indulge in gruesome jokes at the expense of the victims, who bear the torments to which they are subjected with the utmost fortitude. González tries to justify himself, and borrows an extravagant figure from *Thyestes*, 476-82:

la noche oscura día será al mundo:
 quietas estarán Scila y Caribdis,
 reposarán con Eolo Neptuno,
 del mar se cogerán maduras mieses,
 el cielo caerá sobre la tierra
 primero que las muertes, o las vidas,
 las esperanzas grandes, o los miedos,
 los ruegos blandos, o las amenazas
 del Rey cruel, o tuyas, o del mundo
 nos haga desmentir un solo punto
 del que guardamos siempre de constancia, etc.

In the fifth act, after the king has wearied of torturing the prisoners, he commands that their hearts be torn from their bodies. The order is carried out on the stage and the chorus adds ghastly details. After the bodies are taken out to be burned, the king indulges in a monologue expressing his desire for eternal life, and the chorus moralizes on the vanities of earthly things and urges that man turn to God.

It is not likely that the plays of Bermúdez had any definite influence upon the development of the Spanish drama. The dominant influence in Spanish drama in the decade of 1580-90 was Juan de la Cueva, and it is a well-known fact that he deliberately violated many of the rules of classical tragedy. It is true that spasmodic attempts were made after that date to write plays according to classical models, but they were completely overshadowed by the New Comedy of Lope de Vega. The study of Bermúdez' plays, however, and particularly of his use of Seneca, offers an interesting chapter in the history of the Renaissance in Spain.

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HISPANIC NOTES

1. ACER

Spanish has, besides *agre* < *acre*¹ and *agro* < *acru*, the word *agrio*, which is perhaps derived from *acrior* or *acrius*. On account of the difference in stress, these comparative forms were not closely associated with *acriore*, and one or both of them may have been preserved when *acriore* was lost. After the derivatives of *magis acre* and *magis acru* were firmly established, the derivatives of *acrior* and *acrius* could have been mistaken for mere variants of *agro* < *acru*, *agros* < *acros*. It is also possible that at an earlier time the existence of *acriust* = *acrius est*, beside *acrust* = *acrum est* and *acrest* = *acre est*, caused *acrius* to become the masculine form corresponding to a neuter **acriu* (*acrust* : *acru* = *acriust* : **acriu*). For *agrio* < *acrior*, compare Italian *sarto* < *sartor* beside *sempre* < *semper*; we might however assume *agrio* < **argrio* < **agrior*, with double displacement followed by a dissimilative loss of *r* as in *arado* < *artru*.

Portuguese *agre* is historically the same as Spanish *agre*; *agro* may correspond to both *agrio* and *agro*, since *i* has been lost in *adro* < *atriu*. Provençal *aigre*² and French *aigre* represent earlier **agrio*, with *i* displaced as in *airo* = *aire* < **aria* < *area*. The retention of *g* in French does not necessarily imply that *aigre* is a book-word. We can assume that *acrior* developed through **argrio* to **agrio*, with a dissimilative loss of the first *r* after *g* had become a fricative in the derivative of *lacrima*, and after *ala* had changed to or toward *ele*.

2. ATRU

In Michaelis' Portuguese-English dictionary, the adjective *adro*, meaning "sad," is described as a figurative use of the noun *adro*, which means "place" or "square." Evidently the two words are historically separate: one came from *atru*, and the other from *atriu*, as is shown by the dialectal form *aidro*.³ For the meaning of the

¹ Lacking in Meyer-Lübke's dictionary.

² Lacking in Meyer-Lübke's dictionary.

³ *Revista lusitana*, V, 164.

adjective, compare *negro* "sad" and "dark." The persistence of *atru* in Hispanic seems to have been generally overlooked by etymologists.

3. CAMBIARE

Italian has lengthened *b* in *abbia* < *habeat* as in *labbra* < *labra*; from the difference between *capra* < *capra* and *sappia* < *sapiat*, it would seem that hiatus-*i* may be even more of a consonant than *r*. Therefore it is doubtful whether we have a right to call Spanish *cambiar* abnormal¹ by reason of the seeming disagreement with *lamer* < *lambere*. Spanish has kept *b* before a consonant in *sombra*, and added it to *hombre* < *homine*, *hombro* < *umeru*. Probably we ought to consider *cambiar* regular, hiatus-*i* being equivalent to a consonant; we may however call *camiar* regular too, with regard to the loss of *b*. The older form of *camiar* was *camear*, which Menéndez Pidal would explain by assuming² an early "vacilación entre -ear y -iar." It is true that in Spanish dialects -ear and -iar are often confused; but the usual tendency is to change hiatus-*e* to *i*. Where the opposite development has occurred in recent times, it can be considered the result of over-correctness: if a person says -iar where the written language has -ear, an artificial alteration of *i* to *e* may affect words with historic *i*. But such artificiality was not common in mediaeval times.

The reason for the *e* of *camear* is probably to be found in an early Romanic development: we may assume that the *i* of *cambiare* became *e*, parallel with *timere* > **temere*. When proparoxytones disappeared from the present tense in Spanish, **cámbeo* changed to *cámbo* with normal *b* before consonant-*i*, and to *caméo* with a normal loss of *b* before a vowel. Under the influence of *caméo* and other such forms, *camear* was developed as a variant of normal *cambiar*, and produced later *camiar*. The form *cambéo* < **cámbeo*, with the *b* that belongs to *cambiar*, has been preserved or reconstructed in American Spanish.³

Asturian has *llamber* < *lambere*, so that its *b* is normal in *cambear*. Likewise Portuguese keeps *b* in *lamber*, and in *cāibar*, *cambar*, *cambiar*. The relation of these three forms is not entirely clear. An early

Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. hist. española*, Madrid, 1905, § 47.

² *Ibid.*, § 106.

³ Bello, *Opúsculos gramaticales*, II, Madrid, 1891, p. 350.

hiatus-*e* (or its derivative *i*) was regularly displaced after a single labial, as in *raiva* and *ruivo* beside Spanish *rabia*, *rubio*. But after a group of consonants it might disappear: *adro* < *atriu*, *soberba* < *superbia*. Likewise a late hiatus-vowel is lost in *tërmo* < *terminu* beside *fêmea* < *femina*. Apparently *cāiba* is a normal development from **cābea* or *cābia*; but if the change of *ā* to *ām* (before *b*) was nearly contemporary with *adro* < **adreo*, it is clear that *camba* could also be called normal. The ordinary modern form *cambiar* may perhaps be held to show that hiatus-vowels were less readily altered before the stressed syllable than after it.

4. *ERGO

In modern Tuscan a stressed vowel is regularly short before a consonant of the same syllable. In classic Latin there was apparently no such mechanical rule for checked vowels, yet there was a distinct tendency to shorten them, in accord with the later Italian practice. Italian *detto* requires *dīctu* beside *dīco*; the *i* of Spanish *dicho* may be analogic, or due to a mixture of **dīto* < *dīctu* and **decho* < *dīctu*. The stem of *mītto* (>Spanish *meto*) represents earlier **smīd-t-*, corresponding to English *smite* (< **smīd-*) with the addition of a suffix. The short vowels of *përna* and *uëntus*, attested by Spanish *ie* in *pierna* and *viento*, came from long *e*.¹ The Romanic derivatives of *uindēmīa*, a compound of *uīno-*, show that the first vowel was shortened in or before the classical Latin period.

We might therefore reasonably assume *ērigo* > **ērgo* as a normal Latin development, owing to the general absence of *ē* before any consonant-group beginning with *r*. A possible objection to this theory is, however, to be found in Italian *erta*, which has close *e*. It is true that the quality of *e* has undergone change in many Italian words, but the general tendency is to make checked *e* open, so that *erta* has probably retained the historic close *e* of *ērigo*. We might say that Italian and Spanish represent two different forms of spoken Latin, one keeping long *e* in **ergo* until the time when quality was independent of quantity, while the other did not do so. But it would perhaps be simpler to explain Spanish *yergo* as being due to *yerto*. The stressed *e* of *erectū* was short; or if it was not short in

¹ Stolz-Schmalz, *Lat. Grammatik*, München, 1910, p. 89.

classic Latin, it could have become open at a later time under the influence of *rego*. When analogic **erctu* replaced *erectu*, the stressed vowel may have been adapted to that of *erĕctu* in some localities, and to that of **ĕrgo* in others (if we reject theoretic **ĕrgo* with open *e*): this would explain the difference between Italian *erta* < **ĕrcta* and Spanish *yerto* < **ĕrctu*.

5. GRAMEN

In Meyer-Lübke's Romanic dictionary, Spanish *grama* is given as a derivative of *gramen*. This is presumably to be understood as meaning *grama* < *gramina*; but even so, the development calls for comment. The change of **gramna* to **gramra*, in accordance with *lumne* > **lumre*, was followed by the elimination of *r*, as in *aratru* > *arado*. The evasion seen in **aramne* > *alambre* did not occur in **gramra*, for early Spanish disliked initial *gl*; *glera* may be explained by assuming a variant **grela*, which could not lose *g*. The development of **gramra* to *grama* is apparently the only evidence showing that **lumre* existed for a considerable time, in spoken Spanish, intermediate to *lumne* and *lumbre*.

Portuguese has *grama* corresponding to Spanish *grama*. If the foregoing theory of the Spanish word is correct, we may consider Portuguese *grama* a dialectal variant of a lost **gramea*, parallel with *duza* = *dúzia*, *rava* = *raiva* < **ravea* < **rabia*.¹

6. IUGU

In Meyer-Lübke's Romanic dictionary, Portuguese *jugo* and Spanish *yugo* are needlessly marked as book-words. The treatment of *g* is normal, agreeing with *chaga* = *llaga* < *plaga*. The Spanish *y* can be explained as belonging to some southern dialect that disappeared when the Moors invaded Spain; a similar dialectal *y* is seen in the kindred word *yunta*, beside normal *junto* < **iūntu* < *iūnctu*. In a large portion of France initial *y* became *dž* at an early period, but many of the Gascon dialects lack this development,² and it is equally possible that in some regions of Spain *y* was kept, not only before stressed *a*, but before *o* and *u* also. The only apparent ground

¹ *Revista lusitana*, IX, 173; X, 239.

² Millardet, *Études de dialectologie landaise*, Toulouse, 1910, p. 178.

for Meyer-Lübke's theory is the change of *ũ* to close *u*. This development was due to analogic influence. A normal *u* was formed in the Hispanic derivative of *iūngit*,¹ and it changed *o* (or earlier open *u*) to close *u* in the noun. Similarly in some portions of Southern France, the derivative of *iugu* has acquired a nasal consonant from the verb, for example *djoun̄c* (*džun̄k*) in the dialect of Nice.

In spoken Latin, *v* or the bilabial fricative *β* replaced intervocalic *b* at an early time. Likewise in western Romanic the dental fricative *ð* was developed from *d*: in Northern France it has been lost, farther south it is generally represented by *z*, while in Hispanic it is sometimes kept (Spanish *nido*) and sometimes lost (Portuguese *ninho* < **nio* < *nidu*). Probably the velar fricative *ɣ* was developed from intervocalic *g*, in all the Romanic dialects that formed *ð* from *d*. Provençal has *g* in *plago* < *plaga*, but perhaps it represents an older *ɣ*: in *avoust* (< *aost*?) < **agustu*, *ɣ* was changed or lost because it had nearly the same tongue-position as the following vowel; in **plara* it was kept (and afterward changed back to *g*), for here it was more distinct from the adjacent vowels, and its loss would have left an unusual word-form. In some of the Sardinian dialects that have lost intervocalic voiced fricatives, final *-aa* has become *-ae*,² as *fae* < *faba*, *piae* < *plaga*, although Sardinian vowels are in general very conservative.

In Andalusian the words *llaga* and *yugo* are commonly pronounced with *ɣ*; in Castilian the sound is often nearly like our occlusive *g* in *go*. In Portuguese *chaga* and *jugo*, *g* may be incompletely occlusive.³ An old formation of *ɣ*, not only in *chaga* and *xugo*, but also in words like *logo* < *locu*, *pagar* < *pacare*, is implied by the Galician development *ɣ* > *χ*, which occurred at the time (and under the influence) of the general Castilian unvoicing of fricatives.⁴ An early formation of *ɣ* may also be assumed to explain *yuwo*, an old variant of *yugo* given in the Academy's *Diccionario*. The sounds *w* and *ɣ* have almost the same tongue-positions, so that in the development of **yuwo* from *yugo* there was simply an extension of the

¹ *Modern Philology*, XI, 350.

² Wagner, *Lautehre der südard. Mundarten*, Halle, 1907, p. 25.

³ Vianna, *Pronuncia normal portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1892, p. 33.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, IV, 280.

lip-rounding, combined with a very slight lessening of the tongue-elevation. A further change of a similar kind produced *yuβo*, written *yuvu*. Corresponding forms with *v* are found in some of the dialects of Italy, as Emilian *zov* and Sicilian *juvu*.

7. LONGE

Baist supposes that the diphthong of Spanish *lueñe* was due to the influence of normal *luengo* < *longu*.¹ Menéndez Pidal assumes that *lueñe* < *longe* was parallel with *bueno* < *bonu*, and that a variant of *longe* with long *o* is needed for French *loin*, Provençal *lonh*, dialectal Spanish *lloñe* and *lonni*² (in which *nn* meant the sound *ñ*, or perhaps *ññ*). Both of these scholars have overlooked a matter of some importance: in preliterate Castilian, open *o* became close before a palatal, and close *o* sometimes became *oi*. In *cicōnia* > *cigüeña*, *uerecundia* > *vergüeña*, close *o* changed to *oi* on account of the following *ñ*: likewise in the derivative of *lōnge*, close *o* developed through *oi* to *ue*. *Lueñe* agrees with *agüero* < **agoiro*; the variant *luen* has *n* in accord with *desdén* beside *desdeñar*. The *t* of *luent* may have come from the *g* (palatalized *g*) of **loñge*, or it may have been due to the influence of *allén* = *allent* = *allende*, which had a similar meaning. The *luen* of the *Cid*, changed to *luon* by Menéndez Pidal³ to harmonize with *o*-assonances, should be written (if we adopt modern spelling) *loiñe* or *loin*.

French has *bon* beside dialectal *buen* < *bonu*, *pont* = Spanish *puente* beside *dont* = Spanish *donde*, *don* < *dōnu* beside *flour* < *flōre*.⁴ The difference between *cuelt* < *cōlligit* and *loin* < **loñ* < *lōnge* is due to nasality: neither *don* nor **loñ* tells us anything about the Latin quantity. Early Provençal *lonh* has the variants *luenh* and *luonh*, requiring a basis with open *o*. If the *o* of *lonh* was close in some regions, so was that of *bon*, but we cannot for this reason assume *ō* in *bonu* or *longe*. The formation of close *o*, before a nasal, is proved

¹ Baist, in Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 2d ed., p. 889.

² Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, Madrid, 1911, p. 462.

³ Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, p. 1127.

⁴ The *ou* of early French, which assonated with checked *o* < *u*, was a diphthong like Catalan *ou* in *roure*. Portuguese dialects have *ō* and *ōu* for *ou* (Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 52), and likewise French *ou* changed through *ōu* to *ō* (*flōr*). The diphthong of our *flower*, representing older *ū*, shows that there was a dialectal change of *ou* to the sound *u* in early French, parallel with the similar developments in later *moudre* < *moldre*, *poudre* < *poldre*.

by the sound *u* in modern *boun* (*bun*) and *bou* (*bu*), corresponding to the *bon* (*bon*) of Mistral's dialect. An *o* in dialectal Spanish derivatives of *longe* does not imply a primitive close *o*; it shows merely that *o* did not become *oi* before *ñ* everywhere in Spain.

Sardic *frundza* < **frundia* indicates that *fronde* had a variant with *u*¹ in Latin. Likewise the *o* of *longe* became *u* in some portions of Italy, so that *u* may be called normal in Tuscan *lungi*, as in *giunge* < *iängit*.² But Catalan *lluny*³ < *lōnge* is normal, with *u* < *uo* as in *full* < *fōliu*, *ull* < *ōculu*. There is no evidence of a long *o* in *longe* or *longu*, at least in the literary derivatives; Provençal *luen*h (> *liēn*) and *luon*h (> *liōn*), Sicilian *loṇṇu*,⁴ and Spanish *luengo* prove clearly that the *o* was open in early Romanic.

8. NAUIGIU

In his *Gramática histórica española*, Menéndez Pidal gives as examples of harmonic vowel-change the words *cirio*, *vendimia*, *jibia*, *vidrio*, *pelliza*, *erizo*, *tiña*, *navío*, *mido*, *viuda*, *mingua*, with *correa*, *vezo*, *ceja*, *mancebo*, *mengua*, and other cases like these as "excepciones inexplicadas" (§ 11). In my article on the Romanic vowel-system, published in *Modern Philology* (XI, 347), I have shown that *correa* and *vezo* are normal, intervocalic *gi* and *ti* having lost their hiatus-vowels before the principle of harmony was active. The same chronology applies to *ceja* < *cilia*. From the agreement of *ceja* with *troja* (=Portuguese *trilha*) < *trullea*, it is clear that intervocalic *li* became *λλ* in the third period of Hispanic vowel-development—that is, after the general changes of *i* to *e* and of *ū* to *o*—whereas *mucho* (=Portuguese *muito*) shows that Hispanic developed *λt* at an earlier time, and that this *λ* changed open *u* to close *u*.⁵ The word *mancebo* represents **mancīpu*. In spoken Latin, **mancipius* replaced the neuter form, either on account of its meaning, or because *mancipia* was mistaken for a singular. The vocative was **mancipi* in both

¹ Not close *o*, as assumed by Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 47. Stressed close *o* makes *o* in all Sardinian dialects.

² *Modern Philology*, XI, 352.

³ Not "llunĵ" as given in Meyer-Lübke's Romanic dictionary.

⁴ De Gregorio, *Saggio di fonetica siciliana*, Palermo, 1890, p. 91. Long *o* makes *u* in Sicilian, and *ŋ* makes *ŋŋ*, parallel with *nd* > *nn*, *mb* > *mm*.

⁵ *λ* = Portuguese *lh*.

numbers. In the vocative singular, analogic **mancipe* was adopted for the sake of clearness. This **mancipe*, with stressed open *i*, produced the nominative **mancipus*, which corresponds to Spanish *mancebo*.

The agreement of *mengua* with *lengua* implies that both are normal, and that *mingua* is based on *minguar*, or more probably that *mingua* and *minguar* were dialectal (compare Asturian *llingua*); for the difference between *cigüeña* < **cegoña* < **cegoña*¹ and *vergüeña* seems to indicate that checked *e* is normal in *menguar*. The difference between *lengua*, *mengua*, and *viuda* may likewise be ascribed to the checked position; Portuguese *língua* formerly had a free nasal vowel, without a following nasal consonant. Menéndez Pidal's assumption of an early Romanic **viuda* cannot be justified. From early French *vedve* and Provençal *vezoa*, which agree with Italian *vedova* and Rumanian *văduă*, it is plain that *vidua* developed *e* in all the western Romanic tongues; afterward the Hispanic *e* was changed to *i* before coming in contact with *u*.²

Portuguese *meço* is normal; Spanish *mido* < **medo* < **meço* owes its *i* to forms like *recibo* < **recibio*, in which the hiatus-vowel was normally kept after a labial, though finally removed by analogy (*recibe* : *recibo* < **recibio* = *vee* : *veo* < *veyo*). The *i* of *tiña* was due to *ñ*,³ not to the hiatus-vowel, which was lost earlier than that of *cilia*. The various Romanic equivalents of *erizo* and *pelliza*, including Emilian *rets* and *pletsa* (beside *finé* < *finātu*, *le* < *illic*, *rek* = *ricco*, *vest* = *visto*), represent Latin forms with close *i*. Bookish *cirio* shows that vowel-harmony was a relatively late development.

On account of *correa*, it is evidently wrong to consider *navío* a normal Hispanic derivative of *nauḡiu*. Spanish *navío* and Portuguese *navio* must have come from some dialect of Italy. The most likely source seems to be Sardinian *navu* < *nauḡiu*, with normal *i* as in *btere* < *bibere*, *corría* < *corrḡia*. But other dialects might have developed words similar to Spanish *navío*. Sicilian has normal *i* < *ḡ*

¹ With a double nasal rather than a simple *ñ* as I wrote in *Modern Philology*, XI, 350; compare Italian medial *ññ* (spelled *gn*).

² *Modern Philology*, XI, 348. In § 10 of Zauner's *Altspan. Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1908), *vebda* is given as a variant of *viuda*, but other scholars question this assumption.

³ *Modern Philology*, XI, 349.

in *biviri*, *curria*, and could have formed **navtu* from *navūgiu*. A change of *λ* to *y* is found in Venetian *fio* < *filiu*, and apparently in Genoese *figgio* (*fidžu*): either dialect may have possessed a form corresponding to Tuscan *naviglio*. This Tuscan word is a singular remade from the derivative of **navilia*, on the analogy of nouns like *labbro* beside *labbra*.

9. *PAUCE

The dialect of Elvas, in eastern Alentejo, has *poke* and *poš* (with close *o*) as synonyms of literary *pouco*.¹ The form *poš* seems to have come from **pauce* or *pauci*, and would be *pouç* or *pouz* in historic spelling, *ou* having become a simple vowel in southern Portugal.² Apparently *poke* represents a composite of *paucu* and the other form, with *e* added to the general adjective-stem.

10. *RETRUNIA

In the *Bulletin hispanique*, X, 200, Bourciez describes Spanish *redruña* as a derivative of **retroneus*. If the word was borrowed from Catalan, *u* < *uo* < *ō* would be regular; but native stressed *u* < *o* cannot stand before *ñ*, except by an analogic change, as in *muño* for **mueño* < **moiño* < *moneo*. Latin perfects in **-ōmnī* and **-ōnnī* would make **-uñe*—if there were any. As a Castilian development, *redruña* would require a basis with *ũ* or *ū*; open *u* would have become close before *ññ* < *ni*.³

11. *TENEGO

In Castilian the spoken form of the word *entrado* varies between *entraño* and *entrao*. On account of such variation in a great many words, the sound *ð* (similar to English voiced *th*) is sometimes added, by persons who imagine they are speaking correctly, to words not written with *d*, as *Bilbao* > *bilbaño*, *paseo* > *paseño*.⁴ A similar artificiality would explain Spanish *tengo* for **teño* < **teñño* < *teneo*. The idea that *tengo* might have come directly from **tenio* is certainly

¹ *Revista lusitana*, X, 252.

² Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

³ *Modern Philology*, XI, 350.

⁴ Araujo, *Estudios de fonética castellana*, Toledo, 1894, p. 67.

wrong. Latin nouns, such as *arana* and *uinea*, have never developed *g* < *i* in Spanish, so that the formation of *g* in *tengo* must be connected with the use of *teneo* as a verb.

In Latin poetry a final vowel was regularly dropped before a word beginning with a vowel, and the elision of vowels is common in Italian. We may therefore assume that the Romans did not generally say *pono ego*, when the pronoun was added: they said **pon ego*, and at a later time **ponego* without stress on the second element. The change of *ego* to **eo* produced **pon *eo*, **poneo*, **ponio* (> Portuguese *ponho*) as variants of **ponego*, and conversely **tenego* as an over-correct form of *teneo*. From *tēneo* came Spanish **teño* (=Portuguese *tenho*), with normal close *e* before *ñ*. Since *lōngu* makes *luengo*, **tenego* should have made **tiengo*: the form *tengo* has borrowed the close *e* of **teño*.

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